

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them,
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*—HEINE.

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THE ELECTION OF FEDERAL JUDGES BY THE PEOPLE.

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WHEN the Constitution of the United States was adopted at Philadelphia, the masses were uneducated and the men in official positions under the State governments were as a rule chosen by the influence of the educated and wealthy few. A representative democracy was an experiment, and there was a frankly expressed fear of committing power to the masses. In only one State was the governor at that time elected by the people, and in none were the judges so chosen. In all there were property qualifications either for the electors of the State Senate or of both houses, or for the members themselves of the General Assembly, and in some in all these particulars.

This state of things was naturally reflected in the Federal Constitution, which still, after the lapse of nearly a century and a quarter, and the demonstrated capacity of the people for self-government, presents in the full blaze of the twentieth century the distrust of popular government which, before its trial, was natural in the men of the eighteenth century. The unnatural thing is, not its adoption in 1787, but the retention, unchanged, of the non-elective features of the Constitution in 1904. The Federal Constitution, framed according to the ideas then prevailing, gave to the people the selection of only one-sixth of the government—the members of the lower

House of Congress. The choice of the Elective and the Judiciary, and of the other half of the legislative department, was carefully placed beyond their reach. The Senate was made elective at second-hand by the State Legislatures. The President was intended to be elected at third-hand by electors chosen by the State Legislatures, and the Judiciary at fourth-hand by the appointment of the executive so chosen; and to place the judges farther beyond the possibility of responsibility to the people or influence by that popular opinion which is the foundation-stone of a free government, the tenure was for life.

A more complete denial of popular control of the new government could not have been devised. Hamilton would have preferred a hereditary Executive. That would not have been as efficient for his purposes as an appointive life Judiciary, for we know that the hereditary executive in England has not dared to exercise the veto-power since the revolution of 1688, more than two centuries. But by reason of the power which the Judiciary soon bestowed upon themselves, by construction, of declaring any statute unconstitutional, the judges have set aside acts of Congress at will. Thus the legal-tender act, the financial policy of the government, was invalidated by one court and then validated by another, when the personnel of

the court had been increased for that purpose. Thus also ten years since the Income-Tax, which had been held constitutional by the court for a hundred years and after being at first again so held, was by a sudden change of vote by one judge held unconstitutional, nullified and set aside. The result was that one hundred million dollars of annual taxes were transferred from those most able to bear them and placed upon those least able to bear them, necessarily forcing the retention of the high tariff, which is a tax upon consumption and therefore a tax upon the many. In the ten years which have elapsed since the Income-Tax, passed by both Houses of Congress and approved by the President, was thus set aside, this change of front by this one judge has cost the toilers, the producers of this country, one thousand million dollars! Had the court been elective, men not biased in favor of colossal wealth would have filled more seats upon the bench, and if there had been such decision, long ere this, under the tenure of a term of years new incumbents would have been chosen, who, returning to the former line of decisions, would have upheld the right of Congress to control the financial policy of the government in accordance with the will of the people of this day and age, and not according to the shifting views which the court has imputed to language used by the majority of the fifty-five men who met in Philadelphia in 1787. Such methods of controlling the policy of a government are no whit more tolerable than the conduct of the augurs of old who gave the permission for peace or war, for battle or other public movements, by declaring from the flight of birds, the inspection of the entrails of fowls, or other equally wise devices, that the omens were lucky or unlucky,—the rules of such divination being in their own breasts and the augurs being always privately informed as to the wishes of those in power.

In England one-third of the revenue is derived from the superfluities of the very wealthy, by the levy of a graduated income tax. The same system is in force in all

other civilized countries. In not one of them would the hereditary monarch venture to veto or declare null such a tax. In this country alone the people, speaking through their Congress and with the approval of the Executive, cannot put in force a single measure of any nature whatever with assurance that it shall meet with the approval of the courts; and its failure to receive such approval is fatal for, unlike the veto of the Executive, the unanimous vote of Congress (and the Income-Tax was very near receiving such approval) cannot avail against it.

Such vast power cannot safely be deposited in the hands of any body of men without supervision or control by any other authority whatever. If the President errs, his mandate expires in four years, and his party as well as himself is accountable to the people at the ballot-box for his stewardship. If members of Congress err, they too must account to their constituents. But the Judiciary hold for life, and though popular sentiment should change the entire personnel of the other two great departments of government, a whole generation must pass away before the people could get control of the Judiciary, which possesses an irresponsible and unrestricted veto upon the action of the other departments,—irresponsible because impeachment has become impossible, and if it were possible it could not be invoked as to erroneous decisions, unless corruption were shown.

In the State governments the conditions existing in 1787 have long since been changed. In all the states the governors and the members of the General Assemblies have long since been made elective by manhood suffrage. In all the forty-five states, save four (Delaware, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island), the judges hold for a term of years, and in three of these they are removable (as in England) upon a majority vote of the Legislature, thus preserving a supervision of their conduct which is utterly lacking as to the Federal Judiciary. In Rhode Island the judges were thus dropped summarily, once, when they had held an act of the

Legislature invalid. In thirty-three states the judges are elected by the people, in five states by the Legislature and in seven states they are appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate. Even in England the judges hold office subject to removal upon the vote of a bare majority in Parliament—though there the judges have never asserted any power to set aside an act of Parliament. There the will of the people, when expressed through their representatives in Parliament, is final. The King cannot veto it, and no judge has ever dreamed he had power to set it aside. Professor Bryce overlooked these essential differences in avowing his preference for a life-tenure, appointive Judiciary in this country.

A greater power, however, is claimed and has been often asserted by the judges in this country. Subject to no supervision or revisal from any source, it is absolute power. If the Federal judges were elective, and for a term of years, as State judges have become, there would be the corrective force of public opinion, which could select judges at the expiration of such term more considerate of the policy in public matters which is approved by the statutes enacted; while in all private litigation elective judges would be altogether as efficient as if appointed for life.

Given by the Constitution of 1787 the choice of only one-sixth of the government—the lower House of Congress—the people soon forced the transfer of the choice of Presidential electors to their arbitrament and then by common consent the electors were made mere figure-heads, compelled to vote for the candidate for President whose name is placed at the head of the ballot on which the electors are voted for. Legally each elector is free to vote for whom he pleases, but no elector has ever dared violate the implied order given him at the ballot-box. Thus, without changing a letter in the Constitution, the people early captured the Executive Department and practically vote direct for President and Vice-President.

For years a similar struggle has gone on to secure the election of United States

Senators by the people. At least four times the House of Representatives has passed a bill to amend the Constitution to provide for the election of Senators by the people, and each time the vote was either unanimous or practically so. The measure has, however, never passed the Senate, which is to a large extent filled, as the Federal Judiciary is, by the influence of corporate power and very often by the selection of the attorneys of those corporations. The bill to elect Senators by the people has not been defeated directly, but by the chloroform process of referring the bill to some committee which shall not report it for a vote thereon in the open Senate. In many states it has been sought to attain the same end by nominating the Senators by a State Primary or State Convention, and pledging the legislative candidates to vote for such nominees. This is unsatisfactory, for the large and increasing number of newspapers which are owned or controlled by corporate wealth antagonize any method save the election by the Legislature, whose limited number makes the choice of a Senator by them more easy of control by dexterous manipulation.

But by far the more serious defect and danger in the Constitution is the appointment of judges for life, subject to confirmation by the Senate. So far as corporate wealth can exert influence, either upon the President or the Senate, no judge can take his seat upon the Federal bench without the approval of allied plutocracy. It is not charged that such judges are corruptly influenced. But they go upon the bench knowing what influence procured their appointment, or their confirmation, and usually with a natural and perhaps unconscious bias from having spent their lives at the bar in advocacy of corporate claims. Having attempted as lawyers to persuade courts to view debated questions from the standpoint of aggregated wealth, they often end by believing sincerely in the correctness of such views, and not unnaturally put them in force when in turn they themselves ascend the bench. This trend in Fed-

eral decisions has been pronounced. Then, too, incumbents of seats upon the Federal Circuit and District bench cannot be oblivious to the influence which procures promotion; and now fatal to confirmation by the plutocracy, a majority in the Senate is the expression of any judicial views not in accordance with the "safe, sane and sound" predominance of wealth.

As far back as 1820, Mr. Jefferson had discovered the "sapping and mining," as he termed it, of the life-tenure, appointive Federal Judiciary, owing no gratitude to the people for their appointment and fearing no inconvenience from their conduct, however arbitrary, in the discharge of such office. In short, they possess the autocratic power of absolute irresponsibility. "Step by step, one goes very far," says the French proverb. This is true of the Federal Judiciary. Compare their jurisdiction in 1804, when Marshall ascended the bench, and their jurisdiction in 1904. The Constitution has been remade and rewritten by the judicial glosses put upon it. Had it been understood in 1787 to mean what it is construed to mean to-day, it is safe to say that not a single State would have ratified it. This is shown by the debates in the State Conventions, in many of which the bare possibility of much less objectionable construction was bitterly denied and yet nearly caused defeat of ratification. In 1822, in his letter to Mr. Barry, Mr. Jefferson said that it was imperative that the United States judges should be made elective for a term of years, and suggested six years as the period.

The tenure of judges for a term of years is the popular will and judgment as is shown by the adoption of that method in forty-one states. It has worked satisfactorily in those States, else they had returned to the appointive life-tenure. The latter system of selecting the United States judges has not been satisfactory. It lends itself to the appointment of corporation attorneys, whose natural bias, however honest they may be, is adverse to any ruling that will conflict with the views maintained by

them while at the bar. The life-tenure is especially objectionable, because the conduct of the judge is beyond review by any authority. A more autocratic and utterly irresponsible authority nowhere exists than that of the United States judges, clothed with the power to declare void acts of Congress and rendered by life-tenure free from any supervision by the people or any other authority whatever.

An elective Judiciary is less partisan, for in many states, half the judges are habitually taken from each party and very often in other states the same men are nominated by both parties, notably the recent selection by a Republican convention of a Democratic successor to Judge Parker. The people are wiser than the appointing power which viewing judgeships as patronage has with scarcely an exception filled the Federal bench with appointees of its own party. Public opinion, which is the corner-stone of free government, has no place in the selection or supervision of the judicial augurs who assume power to set aside the will of the people when declared by Congress and the Executive. Whatever their method of divination, equally with the augurs of old they are a law to themselves and control events. A people's destiny should always be in their own hands.

As was said by a great lawyer lately deceased, Judge Seymour D. Thompson, in 1891 (*25 Am. Law Review*, 288): "If the proposition to make the Federal Judiciary elective instead of appointive is once seriously discussed before the people, *nothing can stay the growth of that sentiment*, and it is almost certain that every session of the Federal Supreme Court will furnish material to stimulate that growth."

Great aggregations of wealth know their own interests, and it is very certain that there is no reform and no constitutional amendment that they will oppose more bitterly than this. What, then, is the interest of all others in regard to it?

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GLASGOW'S GREAT RECORD.

A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE PIONEER EXPERIMENT IN MUNICIPAL- OWNERSHIP OF STREET-CAR SERVICE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

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I.

A MAN who trundles the world at his heels is a never-ceasing source of interest and admiration, and scarcely less interest attaches to a city that can pull the municipalities of a nation out of the clinging grasp of old ideas, lift them out of the ruts of habit against the weight of inertia that belongs to all large bodies, and start them on new lines of development in affairs of great importance. This is what Glasgow has done, and one who is interested in municipal progress never tires of the story and its ever-expanding record of success.

Prior to 1894, only three municipalities in Great Britain operated their own tramways. These were Huddersfield, Plymouth and Blackpool, and in each case the reason was that no private company could be got to do the work. In 1894 Leeds and Glasgow began to operate their street-railways for a very different reason. The companies in possession were exceedingly anxious to continue their hold on the transportation service of these great cities, but the cities were not satisfied with the company methods of conducting the business, and took the management into their own hands. The tremendous fight put up by the company in Glasgow, the signal victory of the city, and the energy, skill and public spirit of the municipal management, attracted wide attention, and other cities watched the outcome. They saw the fares greatly reduced, the service improved, the conditions of labor ameliorated, the traffic enlarged, and a good profit put in the public treasury. One by one the cities and towns of the United Kingdom followed the Glasgow lead till now nearly all the large cities and towns in the Kingdom have decided to manage their

street-railways for themselves, and about fifty municipalities in England and Scotland are already operating their tramlines.*

The average fare in Glasgow now is less

* The last of the large cities to undertake the municipalization of the trams was Birmingham. This city has, for many years, been very far behind in tramway matters. Belfast, in Ireland, has, within the past month, decided to purchase the tramways in the city from the company which owns and operates the lines. These lines are still operated by horse-traction, and the Corporation is going to equip the lines electrically.

Up to the present time (July 14, 1904), about 50 cities and towns own and operate their tramway systems. The following is a list of these Corporations, with the year in which each system was opened for electric-traction, the population served by each system, and the length of line measured as single track:

Place.	Year Elec. Traction Sys- tem opened.	Length of Line.	Popula- tion.
ENGLAND.			
Birkenhead.....	1901	23	46
Blackburn.....	1899	21	71
Blackpool.....	1884	17	40
Bolton.....	1899	38	28
Bournemouth.....	1902	16	66
Bradford.....	1898	72	29
Brighton.....	1901	11	66
Burnley.....	1901	14	10
Cardiff.....	1902	21	29
Darwen.....	1900	7	13
Derby.....	—	7	56
Doncaster.....	1902	10	74
Dover.....	1898	3	40
Eastham.....	1901	10	60
Halifax.....	1898	40	68
Huddersfield.....	1901	35	27
Hull.....	1899	20	69
Lancaster.....	1903	3	70
Leeds.....	1897	82	65
Leicester.....	—	16	24
Liverpool.....	1898	113	68
London County Council Southern System.....	1903	39	56
Manchester.....	1901	77	73
Newcastle.....	1901	41	3
Nottingham.....	1901	29	70
Oldham.....	1902	27	27
			Not known
			700,000
			219,000
			240,000
			137,000

than two cents (1.84 cents) per passenger, and 30 per cent. of the passengers ride on the one-cent fare, the lowest transportation rates in the United Kingdom, or possibly in the world.

The private company operating in Glasgow ten years ago with a service less than half as good as that established by the City and with longer hours and lower wages, collected fares from 25 to 100 per cent. higher than those charged by the municipal tramways at the start, and the city has lowered its tariff considerably since then. We pay the same five-cent rate we paid ten years ago.

In spite of her microscopic fares, Glasgow has already written off out of revenue about a quarter of the capital cost of the railways, putting the money into a fund for the renewal of the plant, besides considerable payments to the Common Good, and to a sinking-fund calculated to cancel the debt in thirty-one years. In three more decades the capital will be cleared away, the tramways will be free of debt and the fares can be reduced to the level of operating cost plus depreciation.

It is part of the policy of the city trams to coöperate with neighboring municipi-

palities in establishing interurban service. It is the desire of the city to give all the communities within reasonable distance the benefit of one large system of tramways instead of numerous smaller systems in the hands of private companies. The local authorities outside the city have given the roads to the city for tramway purposes in perpetuity, and in return the city agrees to keep the roads in repair between the rails and eighteen inches outside, and guarantees a good service of cars at the same cheap rates as are given in the city. City trams have already been laid down on most of the main roads in all directions, within a radius of seven miles. This policy, together with some long routes established on the two-cent fare to enable the working people to live in the suburbs, operates as a strong relief to the congestive tendencies that oppress all great cities. Houses are being rapidly built along the extended tramway routes, and many people are taking advantage of the splendid trolley-service to live much further from their work.

The city has its own car-shops and all but 80 of the 682 cars in stock were built and equipped in the work-shops of the

Place.	Year Elec. Traction Sys- tem opened.	Length of Line.	Popula- tion.
		Miles.	Chns.
ENGLAND.			
Plymouth.....	1899	12	5
Portsmouth.....	1901	28	44
Rochdale.....	1902	5	15
Salford.....	1901	43	40
Sheffield.....	1899	56	22
Southampton.....	1900	13	34
Southport.....	1900	19	59
Stockport.....	1902	9	70
Sunderland.....	1900	19	35
Wallasey.....	1902	10	60
Warrington.....	1902	9	4
Wigan.....	1901	15	39
Wolverhampton.....	1902	14	31
Yarmouth, (Gt.).....	1902	5	49
SCOTLAND.			
Aberdeen.....	1899	20	64
Ayr.....	1901	7	63
Dundee.....	1900	34	47
Glasgow.....	1898	140	—
Kirkcaldy.....	1903	341	—
			1,000,000
			34,000

Birmingham has only, as yet, a very few miles of track in operation. The bulk of the system does not fall into the hands of the Corporation for some time.

There are now very few large tramway systems in Great Britain owned and operated by private companies, and the most of the smaller systems are controlled by the British Electric-Traction Company, and other large syndicates. These companies generally give a good service of cars at rates rather higher than those of the City of Glasgow. The minimum distance which Parliament prescribes for a two-cent fare is one mile. The companies generally give about a mile and a half to a mile and three-quarters, whereas the City of Glasgow gives on an average rather over two and a quarter miles. Moreover Glasgow has a one-cent fare for short rides, while the company minimum is two cents.

The general impression is that the series of statements (or misstatements) against municipalization, written, it is said, by the agents of American trust and railway organizers, and published in the *London Times*, has had very little, if any, effect,—a conclusion borne out by the rapid and persistent movement toward municipal ownership all over the Kingdom. In the references to Glasgow in these articles the tramways were touched upon. Unfortunately, however, for the anti-municipal point-of-view, it is too well known that the Tramways Department in Glasgow has been a marked success from the very start.

department. These work-shops have been constructed to deal with a very large number of cars, and are equipped with the most up-to-date machine tools.

One of the most refreshing things about the Glasgow trams is the fine appearance of the cars, which is due not only to excellent construction, but to the absence of the flaring advertisements that are still plastered all over the cars in England and Scotland wherever the companies retain possession. In Birmingham, for example, the street-cars are covered from end to end inside and out with enormous vari-colored advertisements, some of them using practically the whole length of the car outside for "BRADBURY'S COCOA," in able-bodied letters a foot high, occupying a good deal more space above or below the windows than our cars give to announcements of the streets or localities on their routes. All this overgrown commercialism, spoiling the British cars with advertisements of patent medicines, liquors, foods, soaps, etc., was swept away in Glasgow when the city took the tramways, although some \$50,000 a year could be realized by the city if it would sell advertising space in the street-cars. I asked the General Manager why the city had abolished the advertisements, and he said it was done for esthetic reasons, an answer that delighted me as much as anything I heard or saw in relation to the trams. Think of putting a question of beautiful cars and the effect upon the artistic development of the people above a matter of \$50,000 a year to be had at a stroke of the pen.

While in Glasgow the General Manager of the Municipal Trams, Mr. John Young, afforded me every opportunity for a full investigation of the system, and a few weeks ago at the request of the Editor of *THE ARENA*, I framed a series of questions, in reply to which, with Mr. Young's co-operation, the department has furnished a large amount of valuable material. The data thus obtained, together with my personal studies on the ground, form the basis of this paper.

In some cases the figures now sent differ slightly from those previously obtained; in such cases I have followed the statements just received.

II.

In order that the reader may have before him in one statement a comprehensive outline of the movement down to date, showing the latest developments in their true relations, some of the facts of these earlier years must be briefly recalled.

Glasgow built her own tramways, the first lines being constructed in 1871. These and the subsequent extensions of the system were leased to the company on a lease conditioned to expire June 30, 1894. For several years previous to the expiration of the lease, negotiations were in progress between the city and the leasing company in regard to renewal of the concession. But there were difficulties in the way. The conduct of the service by the company was very unsatisfactory to the general body of the citizens. The company still relied entirely upon horse-traction. Their cars were old and many of them were in a very dilapidated condition. The drivers and conductors were poorly paid and had to work long hours. As they were not supplied with uniforms and were frequently very poorly clad, their appearance on the cars was not a credit to the city. The men themselves were very much dissatisfied with the conditions of their service. One of the conditions insisted upon by the city for its consent to the renewal of the lease was that the conditions of labor should be improved; that uniforms should be furnished by the company; and especially that the men should not be worked more than sixty hours per week. The company refused to agree to this, saying that they could not operate the system successfully under these conditions.

The citizens were heartily sick of the conduct of the company, both in its relations with its men and with the city, and a strong feeling in favor of the municipal-

ization of the tramways took possession of the minds of the people. The question of municipalization was made a test question or special issue at the municipal elections of 1890 and 1891. The result was that on November 12, 1891, the city decided to work the tramways as a municipal Department.

After the city had decided not to renew the lease, it tried to purchase from the company its buildings, horses and cars, and had almost concluded to take over the whole property of the company at an agreed valuation when it transpired that the company intended to oppose the municipal cars on all routes by a vigorous service of omnibuses. The city wished to make it a condition of purchasing the company's buildings, etc., that the company should not oppose city cars, but the company would not agree to this, and the negotiations were broken off.

It became necessary, therefore, for the city to secure horses, cars, and an entire new equipment for the tram-lines. It had two years in which to secure buildings, horses, cars, etc., and get ready to begin upon a given morning in the future to work the entire street-railway system of the city.

Mr. John Young, who had been about seventeen years in the service of the city as Superintendent of Cleansing, was unanimously chosen by the City Council to be General Manager.*

His energy and resource were equal to the occasion. Stables for 3,500 horses and car-sheds for 300 cars, etc., were built, and also extensive work-shops, store-houses

* The City Council of Glasgow consists of seventy-seven members. Each of the twenty-five wards elects three representatives; one is sent to the Council by the Merchants' Guild; and one by the Trades' Guild. The Council is divided under the standing committees, each committee having charge of one of the City Departments, such as Water, Gas, Electric-Light, Tramways, Telephones, Markets, Public Health, Streets, etc., and once every three years the Council elects one of its number to be Lord Provost or Mayor.

The Tramways Committee consists of twenty-five members, one from each ward of the City, and the Mayor, who is a member of all Committees. The Tramways Committee is respon-

and granaries. In the spring of 1894, more than 3,000 horses were purchased in England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, France, Canada and the United States.

Everything was ready by the thirteenth of June, 1894, and the city cars received a hearty reception from the people on the morning of July 1st. The old company put its omnibuses on to the car-routes as it had threatened to do. In fact, there were more omnibuses on some routes than cars. The citizens, however, preferred the cars. They ran much more smoothly than the omnibuses, and besides the people were naturally more inclined to ride in their own cars than in the company's vehicles, and in a few months the omnibuses were gradually withdrawn. The attempted opposition resulted in a heavy loss to the company.

III.

On assuming the management of the tramways, the city at once carried into effect its ideas in respect to the amelioration of the conditions of labor. The hours were shortened from eleven and twelve to ten, and later the working hours were reduced to nine hours a day and fifty-four per week. Every man gets five days' holiday per year on full pay. The wages of the men were raised considerably above the wages paid by the private companies. The average increase was 16 per cent., and a considerable number of the men received a 25 per cent. advance.

The wages paid by the old company were four shillings a day. Those are still the wages of beginners, but the city in-

sible to the Town Council for the management of the Tramways Department. The Committee meets for business once a fortnight, and the minutes of the meeting of the Committee are submitted to the Town Council for approval once every month.

The Tramways Committee in its turn holds the General Manager responsible for the conduct of the Department. The Chairman of the Committee is called the Governor. This position has been held for the past fifteen years by Counsel Walter Paton, who is recognized among the members of the City Governments throughout the Kingdom as one of the most efficient of tramway experts.

creases the wages with each year of service, until at the end of the second year the pay becomes 4s. 8d. After three years it becomes 5s.; thirty shillings per week of fifty-four hours in place of twenty-four shillings for a week of seventy-two hours—an increase of 25 per cent. over the company wage per week, and 65 per cent. considering the hours, the old wage being 4d. per hour and the new 6.6d. per hour. The average wages received by the city tram-employees now is 4s. 8d. This is small according to our standards, but good pay according to British standards; a pound a week being considered a full wage for an ordinary workingman. The Glasgow trams pay 40 per cent. more than this.

Two uniforms per year, one for summer and one for winter, are provided to all the traffic staff. The motormen get a bonus of twenty-six shillings for freedom from accidents for twenty-six weeks.

A Friendly Society has been instituted to which the members contribute twelve cents a week, and to which the city contributes another six cents per member per week. A Superannuation Fund has also been instituted and is being accumulated for the benefit of those who, after long service, may become unfit for work. The city also contributes to this fund. At the car depots the city has fitted up gymnasiums for the use of the staff, and every encouragement is given for the formation of athletic clubs, temperance societies, etc.

The selection of the employees is entirely in the hands of the General Manager who is responsible to the city for the conduct of the department. The city simply fixes the wages and the general conditions of service, and leaves the engagement and dismissal of the staff to the General Manager.

Every applicant for a situation must produce from previous employers satisfactory references. He has then to go through an examination by an experienced official as to his sight, hearing, etc. If he passes this examination satisfac-

tory he then goes before one of the Medical Officers of the Department who makes a searching examination, and none but the healthiest and strongest men are allowed to enter the service. Members of the city government frequently send applicants for situations, but these are treated in the same way as ordinary applicants. The best men, irrespective of influence, are taken into the service.

As has been said, the General Manager has full power in regard to dismissal. No man is suspended or dismissed from the service by the head of a department without the sanction of the General Manager.

If the men have any grievance in regard to wages or conditions, they can appear, if they wish, before the Tramways Committee. There has never been a strike among the staff of the department. Suggestions regarding the reduction of hours, increases in wages, or the improvement of the general conditions of service, have always been made to the Committee by the General Manager, and the men are satisfied that their interests are being looked after in every respect.

Under the old company, the staff was composed, for the most part, of riff-raff, and to be in the service was considered a reproach, but the conditions have altogether changed and it is now considered an honorable service, and the position of motorman and conductor under the city is one eagerly sought after by good men.

IV.

Before the city began to operate the roads, it had under consideration a scheme of reduced fares prepared by the General Manager. Year by year the city has, as they found it safe to do so, given further concessions both to the traveling public as well as to the staff of the department.

The following table gives the distances given for each fare under the old lessees, prior to 1894, and now under the city management:

Fare in Cents.	Old Lessees.	City.
1.	None.	.58 miles.
2.	1.12 miles.	2.30 "
3.	1.80 "	3.48 "
4.	2.20 "	4.64 "
5.	None.	5.80 "
6.	3.23 miles.	6.89 "
7.	None.	8.15 "
8.	None.	9.09 "

The statement below shows that the

bulk of the revenue is derived from the two-cent fares, though the one-cent passengers amount to more than 30 per cent. of the whole number.

The average fare on the whole traffic is 1.84 cents. Suggestions have been made that all fares above two cents be abolished, but the management has not yet thought best to adopt this policy.

FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 31, 1904.

Fare.	Passengers Carried.		Traffic Receipts.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.
½d.	57,501,083	30.43	£119,793 : 18 : 5	16.69
1 d.	114,761,110	60.73	478,171 : 5 : 10	66.61
1½d.	11,926,754	6.31	74,542 : 4 : 3	10.38
2 d.	3,051,122	1.62	25,426 : 0 : 4	3.54
2½d.	762,539	.40	7,943 : 2 : 4	1.11
3 d. and upwards.	960,002	.51	12,000 : 0 : 6	1.67
Sundries	16 : 12 : 6
	188,962,610	100.00	£717,893 : 4 : 2	100.00

V.

While the negotiations were pending with the old lessees, and for some time previous, the introduction of mechanical traction occupied the attention of the members of the City Council. But it was ultimately decided that as the lessees had control of the lines until the last day of the lease, it would be safer to start with horses, and await further developments in regard to mechanical traction. From July 1, 1894, until October, 1898, the city operated the system entirely with horses. On the thirteenth of October, 1898, however, a short line which had been equipped as a demonstration of the overhead system of electric-traction was opened, and its immediate success induced the city within two months thereafter, to decide to equip the whole system electrically with the "trolley." The work of conversion was completed by the spring of 1901. I asked the manager if they had considered the underground electric system. I knew the city had sent a committee to study the electric-railways of some of our cities, and the underground system of Washington is certainly very

attractive. In reply to my question Mr. Young said that it was not possible to use the underground, or slot-system; for a subway, running along the river road within ten inches of the surface of the street, put the underground electric out of court.

During the seven years of horse-traction, the city was enabled after paying working expenses, interest on capital and sinking-fund charges, to lay aside considerable sums to meet depreciation of plant, and also to accumulate a large reserve-fund. The result was that when the horse-traction plant came to be disposed of, there were sufficient funds in the depreciation and reserve-funds to meet any loss in the forced realization. *The new electric system is consequently not burdened with any of the capital appertaining to the old horse system.* The habit of private companies is to add the capitalization of the old to the cost of the new, and if they stop there, we regard it as matter for thanksgiving.

When the city started to operate the tramways, the total number of cars on the streets of Glasgow was about 220.

There are now nearly 600. On many routes to the outskirts of the city a two and a three-minutes' service is given.

The policy of the city has been to give the closest possible service of cars at the lowest fares which will leave a safe margin of profit. Even the multitudes attending the exposition were handled without any such crowding as we experience in Boston every day, and for the relief of which no adequate effort is made. It is the strap-passengers that pile up the dividends.

The city has never adopted the policy of endeavoring to earn large profits in

order to relieve ordinary taxation. The profits of all the departments of the city, such as water, gas, electric-light, telephones, etc., have always gone directly to the benefit of the users in better and cheaper service.

VI.

Coming now to the matter of finance, an examination of the capital expenditures under finance headings with the amounts written off for depreciation, shows that the city has already written off more than a quarter of the capital cost of the system:

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE AS AT MAY 31, 1904.

Account.	Original Cost.	Written off out of Revenue.	Balance of Cost as at May 31, 1904.
Permanent Way.....	£794,658 : 18 : 4	£201,470 : 1 : 5	£593,188 : 16 : 11
Electric equipment of Line..	550,336 : 10 : 0	121,463 : 5 : 4	428,873 : 4 : 8
Ground.....	107,638 : 15 : 5	107,638 : 15 : 5
Buildings and Fixtures.....	416,616 : 15 : 11	91,567 : 7 : 3	325,049 : 8 : 8
Power Station and Sub-Station Plant	385,557 : 13 : 11	66,309 : 17 : 10	319,247 : 16 : 1
Workshop, Tools and Sundry Plant	18,474 : 4 : 8	6,547 : 9 : 0	11,926 : 15 : 8
Cars.....	205,114 : 15 : 5	43,218 : 0 : 5	161,896 : 15 : 0
Electric Equipment of Cars.	171,043 : 2 : 4	37,278 : 4 : 8	133,764 : 17 : 8
Miscellaneous Equipment...	21,364 : 6 : 8	7,846 : 8 : 5	13,517 : 18 : 3
Office Furniture.....	4,574 : 2 : 0	2,284 : 6 : 1	2,289 : 15 : 11
Lease of Govan and Ibrox Tramways	4,057 : 2 : 4	1,046 : 7 : 8	3,010 : 14 : 8
Parliamentary Expenses.....	15,494 : 1 : 0	12,864 : 14 : 2	2,629 : 6 : 10
Preliminary Expenses.....	4,845 : 5 : 9	4,845 : 5 : 9
	£2,699,775 : 13 : 9	£591,896 : 2 : 3	£2,107,879 : 11 : 6

The statement printed on the following page gives in a condensed form the revenue and expenditure of the year ending May 31, 1904, with the disposal of the surplus.

These figures speak for themselves. It will be observed that the department pays annually to the Common Good the sum of £25,000. The money which is raised on bond for capital purposes amounted at May 31st, to £1,830,894 : 0s. 10d. This money is borrowed on the security of the Common Good, or, in other words, the corporate estate of the city. The citizens of Glasgow have

owned this property now known as the Common Good for several centuries. It was the property first of all of the free-men or burgesses of the city, and consisted of grants of land in and around the city by the church and wealthy citizens to the corporate body. The revenues of the Common Good consisted in the olden time of dues levied by the city authorities on produce, etc., brought into the city. The land which was given to and purchased by the city has, of course, gradually increased in value, and the revenue now consists principally of ground rents.

Traffic Revenue	£717,893 : 4 : 2
Other Revenue	6,958 : 1 : 6
Total.....	£724,851 : 5 : 8
Working Expenditure	356,820 : 0 : 11
Leaving a gross balance of	£368,031 : 4 : 9
out of which the following charges were met:	
Rent of Leased Lines	£5,068 : 11 : 3
Interest on Capital	59,307 : 18 : 1
Repayment of Debt	45,552 : 17 : 0
Parliamentary Expenses written off	12,864 : 14 : 2
Written off Capital Expenses to meet depreciation	78,619 : 8 : 7
Laid aside to meet Permanent Way Renewal	60,827 : 5 : 5
	£262,240 : 14 : 6
Leaving a net balance of.....	£105,790 : 10 : 3
which was disposed of as follows:	
Payment to the Common Good, or Public Fund.....	£25,000 : 0 : 0
Special Depreciation	62,000 : 0 : 0
Carried to Reserve Fund.....	18,790 : 10 : 3
	£105,790 : 10 : 3

The Common Good for the past half-century has acted as the nursing mother to all the municipal undertakings which have been started by the corporation, such as the water, gas, city improvements, markets, tramways, etc. First of all, advancing the money to pilot these schemes through Parliament, and afterwards seeing them safely floated. The tramways however, although carried on as a separate undertaking under Parliamentary Powers, is still a part of the Common Good. The £25,000 is handed over as free revenue to the Common-Good Fund. After meeting the ordinary expenditure of this fund, the revenue is used in dispensing the hospitality of the city to distinguished strangers. Large sums are also taken out of the fund to assist various institutions in the city, such as the infirmaries, which are depending for their revenue on voluntary subscriptions.

The total sum written off to meet depreciation is £591,896. The amount available for the renewal of the track now amounts to £193,005 : 18s. 9d., and the amount in the reserve-fund is £33,008 : 0s. 1d.

The debt of the department, which now amounts to £1,830,894 : 0s. 10d. has to be paid off by an annual charge against

revenue of two per cent. on the gross sum borrowed. This sum, if accumulated at 3 per cent. compound interest, will *extinguish the debt in thirty-one years*. At the end of this period the corporation will have the undertaking entirely free of debt, and by the adequate provision which is being made for renewal, the plant and equipment will be in perfect condition.

The fares, receipts, expenses, etc., before the transfer, soon after, and for the last year are shown in the table on the opposite page.

It will be seen that the city cut the minimum fare in half at the start, reduced the average fare one-third, and largely increased the patronage of the lines. The average fare per mile is now but little more than half the rate charged by the private company.

VII.

Glasgow has a fine record in many ways outside the history of her tramways. Her municipal telephones have greatly improved the service and reduced the cost to the people. Her water, gas, and electric-light works, baths and public laundries are excellently managed. Her enterprise in buying slum districts and re-

	Just before Transfer to City Operation.	Soon after Transfer, 11 Months say.	Year to May 31, 1904.
1. Fares. Minimum.....	2 cents	1 cent	1 cent
Average per passenger	3 cents	2 cents	1.4 cents
Per mile	1.78 cents	1.50 cents	0.90 cents
2. Number of passengers per year,	54,000,000	57,104,647	188,962,610
3. Total receipts	£334,304 : 7 : 6	£226,414 : 3 : 4	£724,851 : 5 : 8
4. Operating Expenses.....	254,881 : 8 : 8	190,715 : 0 : 1	356,820 : 0 : 11
5. Fixed charges (including depre- ciation)	55,163 : 16 : 10	27,438 : 17 : 9	262,240 : 14 : 6
6. Profit	24,259 : 2 : 0	8,260 : 5 : 6	105,790 : 10 : 3
7. Number of employees.....	1,700	2,000	3,200 traffic
8. Average wage per day: Drivers and Conductors....	4/- (\$1.00)	4/- (\$1.00)	4/8 (\$1.16) traffic
9. Average hours work per day..	11 to 12	10	9
10. Salary of Superintendent or head of tramway management,	£1,500	£1,250	£1,400

The company carried on a large omnibus, cab and carriage-hiring business in addition to the tramways.

building them with wholesome dwellings to be rented to the poor at moderate rates cannot be too highly commended. Her splendid coöperative organizations are an inspiration to all who believe in progress toward energetic harmony and brotherhood in industry. But her municipal railways constitute the most striking object-lesson, because they were a greater departure from the traditions of English cities at the time, and have secured a most remarkable following.

Glasgow is not perfect. Even her tramways are not beyond criticism. I do not refer to the low speed, for that the department cannot help, because the limit, eight miles an hour in the city, is imposed by law, and in Scotland the laws have to be obeyed,—at least, some of them do. The steam-railway companies see to it that this one is enforced. They get the Board of Trade to enforce the slow-speed regulations on the electric trams because they are afraid the trolley cars will be taking passengers from the railroads. Neither do I refer to the fact that most of the cars are not warmed. They put in electric-heaters in some of the cars, but every one told me that there was really very little need of them with the Glasgow climate, fresh air and the habits of the people. There are seats on

top of the cars as well as inside, and many people prefer to ride outside, even in cold weather.

What did seem to me a subject for criticism, however, is the fact that the tram-cars were littered by coupons, which might easily be avoided with a little care. And secondly, that the conductors did not properly call out the streets. When I spoke of this to the manager, he said: "No, they do n't. It's hard to teach Scotchmen some things!" I found it was ~~as~~ just as bad in many other cities, and worse on some of the private roads. On the municipal trams of Leeds, however, the conductors call the streets very clearly.

The chief criticism upon Glasgow relates to her treeless streets and smoky atmosphere. With all her progressiveness, she has not learned the incalculable value of trees and grass, and worse yet, she is very careless about the air she breathes. Soot is not as good for the blood as oxygen, and dirty air is no nicer for the lungs than dirty water for the stomach. And then the esthetic side of the matter and the reflex effects of the physical atmosphere on the moral and social atmospheres,—think of a city that foregoes \$50,000 a year rather than put advertisements in its street-cars, yet spoils

its whole sky and atmosphere with smoke. It is almost as bad as Chicago's building the beautiful White City by the Lake, and St. Louis' creating the charming panorama of the present Exposition, while each of these cities is content to leave in its heart a festering slum.

In talking with the Lord Provost about the smoke nuisance in Glasgow, I asked if it could not be prevented by law.

The Mayor said there was a law. No black smoke must issue from a chimney for more than two seconds at a time.

I asked if he thought the law was enforced.

He said: "Yes, it is fairly well enforced."

I answered that I did not think it could be, for several times I had seen black smoke coming from a factory-chimney in the city for more than twenty minutes at a time.

"Well," said the Mayor, "as to the large manufactories, the law cannot be fully enforced. The manufacturers say that if it were enforced, they should have to move their works out of the city."

"I am inclined to think that is a bluff," I replied. "It would not cost the manufacturers nearly so much to conform to the law as to move their works. I have seen admirable smoke-consuming arrangements in England and here in Scotland, also. The original cost is not so very heavy, and ultimately a great economy is secured. It seems to me that the manufacturers' threat is an idle one!"

The Mayor drew himself up and said, with a slight show of irritation: "Is there any other question you wish to ask?"

But the fact that Glasgow has some things to learn from Washington and Boston should not blind us to the fact that our cities have something to learn from her. We are told that conditions are different in America, and inferences must not be drawn from Glasgow. Let us see. It is true, of course, that it would not do to say that as Glasgow has two-cent fares, therefore our roads can be operated on two-cent rates. Street-railway wages are

higher here than in any city of Europe, so far as I know, and our cities are not so compact as Glasgow. But is it not fair to conclude that *public-ownership would have an effect in our cities similar in kind to the effect it has had in Glasgow?* If the change to public-ownership in Glasgow brought lower fares and better service than existed under private-ownership in Glasgow, is it not fair to believe that the change to public-ownership here would give us lower fares and better service than we now have?

The service is not so good in some respects in Glasgow as in Boston, but it is the best on the whole to be found in Great Britain, and is far better than the service given by the private companies in Glasgow or in any other city of the United Kingdom. There are national differences that affect industry, as well as the difference between private and public ownership. Our *machine* civilization is ahead of England's. Her steam-railroads and other businesses in private hands are much inferior to ours. Her private street-railways are still more inferior to ours than her public tram-lines. So far as municipal management is a factor, it has worked for progress all along the line.

Public railways in Glasgow have proved far better for employees and the people than private railways. We infer that similar results will follow in America. Details may be different, but the *essential* conditions are the same, as shown first, by experience with industries already public here, and second, by a study of the cause of improvement under public-ownership in Glasgow.

1. In public business here, as elsewhere, the workers are freer, get more pay and work fewer hours than the employees of the great private monopolies. The public-service is good, the charges are very low and the profit, if any, belongs to the people.

2. The change from private to public-ownership of a great monopoly means a *change of purpose* from *dividends for a few*

to service for all. This change of purpose is the source of the improvement under public-ownership in respect to cheaper transportation, a better paid and more contented citizenship, a fairer diffusion of wealth and power, etc. This change of purpose will accompany the change to public-ownership here as well as in Europe or Australia, and, therefore, public-ownership of the railways here will cause a movement in the same general direction as in Glasgow:

Fares will be lower than they are now.
Wages higher. Hours shorter.
Service better. Traffic larger.
And all the profits and benefits of the

railways system will go to the public instead of a few individuals. Private enterprise seeks to get as much and give as little as possible, while public enterprise aims to give as much and take as little as possible. A business owned by a few is apt to be run in the interest of the few, while a business owned by all, is apt to be run in the interest of all—or, to put it in one comparative phrase, *a business owned by the people is more apt to be run in the interest of the people than a business owned by a Morgan Syndicate or a Rockefeller Trust.*

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston, Mass.

OUR LEGAL MACHINERY AND ITS VICTIMS.

BY G. W. GALVIN, M.D.,*

Physician-in-Chief to the Emergency Hospital, Boston, Massachusetts.

WHEN this republic was established it was founded upon the principle of the greatest good to the greatest number, and with the avowed object to guarantee to every citizen his right to life, liberty and happiness. Equality before the law for all was proudly proclaimed in distinction to European standards of special rights and privileges to privileged hereditary classes.

This government has been in existence for over one hundred years. Its fundamental basis has never been changed.

The ideas and ideals proclaimed by its founders are supposed to still guide us and direct the helm of state.

But can this theory be made to harmonize with actual conditions, as they confront us to-day? Have the principles of our forefathers been upheld by subsequent generations? Are our laws enacted and administered for the equal protection and advantage of all our citizens? Has the fundamental principle of "equality before the law" been maintained?

Before me lie two clippings taken from

* [Doctor G. W. Galvin, the author of "Our Legal Machinery and Its Victims," was born in Boston in 1854. He was educated in the public schools, Boston College and the Harvard Medical School, graduating from the latter institution in 1876. After fifteen years of practice, he founded the Emergency Hospital, which is mainly operated for working men and women, who for a comparatively nominal sum receive medical aid by the year. This hospital has become an important institution in Boston and is coöperative in spirit. Indeed, it might well be named the Wage-Workers' Coöperative Hospital. Some idea of its popularity and efficiency may be gained from the fact that it has to-day a membership of thirty thousand.

Doctor Galvin is far more than a scholarly and scientific physician and surgeon. He is a man after the order of Wendell Phillips, a passionate lover of justice and humanity, and as such he is always ready to champion the cause of the oppressed and unfortunate. Like Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Dorothea Lynde Dix, John G. Whittier, and James Russell Lowell in his earlier years, no thought of self or personal advancement has deterred him from bravely striving to right the wrongs of the weak, oppressed and helpless, to succor those who are under the wheel, and to further the cause of justice. His brave and splendid stand against prison outrages in Massachusetts will ere long be duly appreciated; for strive as they

the Boston papers. The first is entitled "Exciting Chase on Boylston street." The statements condensed read as follows:

"An automobile was chased yesterday for several miles by the police for violating the speed-limit.* The police failed to overtake the automobile, which came to a halt in front of the Hotel Touraine, where the occupants, except the *chauffeur*, alighted and entered the building. The police were powerless to arrest the owner of the automobile, for the law forbids the entrance into a building for the sake of making an arrest without a warrant. The *chauffeur* was arrested and fined five dollars."

The second describes an exciting midnight raid of cheap boarding-houses, and tells how over three hundred out-of-works were taken on a single night from their lodging-houses in Boston and brought in patrol-wagons to the station-houses, where on the following morning those who could prove that they had permanent employment were honorably discharged by the police judge. The others were either sentenced to the work-house or sent out of the city.

Compare these two cases. A rich man openly violates the law, but upon entering his sumptuous hotel he is free from molestation and exempt from arrest, for the law forbids the police to enter a building without a warrant. In the second instance hundreds of free American citizens are

may, the upholders of present conditions can no more justify their course, if half the facts which are sworn to by persons in positions to know are true, than could the responsible officials defend the conditions that prevailed in 1841, after Dorothea Dix turned on the search-light of evidence and compelled the public to take cognizance of the crying wrongs that had grown up even in the heart of the old Bay State.

It is a fact that can never be too frequently emphasized that it is to the courageous, persistent and self-sacrificing efforts of men of the spirit and courage of Doctor Galvin that civilization owes its renewed life and humanity its most glorious victories. And to us there is no stronger proof of the essential divinity of man and the certainty of an ultimate triumph of justice and fraternity in this old world than the

peacefully slumbering in their lodging-houses. They are poor. No definite charge has been made against any of them. No warrant has been issued; but the policemen at night break into the building, ruthlessly pull these free American citizens out of their beds, like so many head of cattle, throw them into the patrol-wagon, drive them to the police-station, and place them behind the iron bars of a gloomy prison. By what principles of equity or justice can the action of the officials in these cases be harmonized with the principle of equal rights for all before the law?

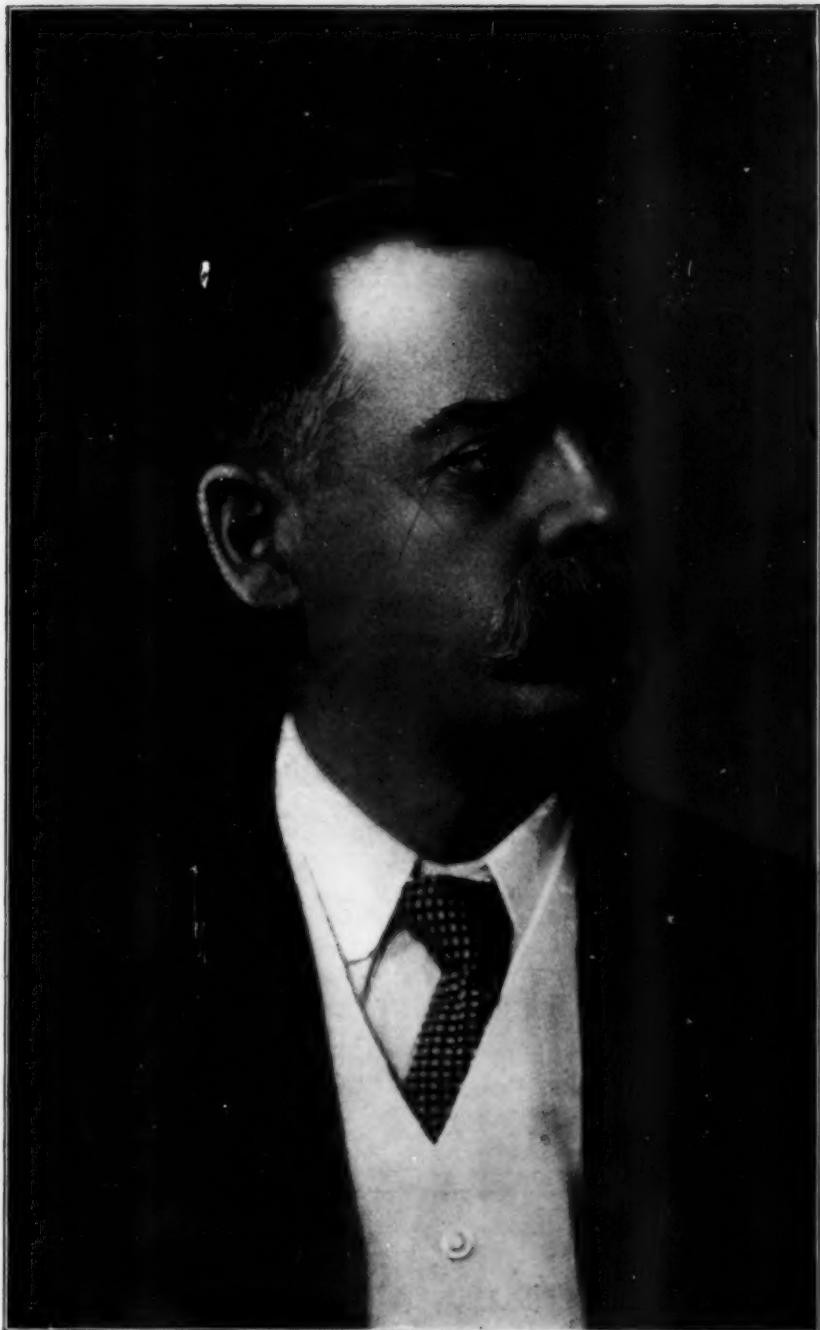
There was a time in history when the poor for a brief period exercised the executive power of the law. We read that during that time the poor imprisoned many rich people without legal justification. The different writers of history can hardly find words strong enough to express their horror at the outrages committed upon the defenceless rich. That period in history is stigmatized as the Reign of Terror. But is it a reign of terror when the poor illegally imprison the rich, and shall we call it a reign of civilization and brotherly love when our Government breaks at midnight into the dwelling-places of the poor, and either sends them to prison or railroads them out of the city to starve and freeze in the prairie? If we accept the theory that it is no more a crime to be rich than to be poor, the fact must be taken into consideration that the rich are voluntarily rich while nobody is voluntarily

spectacle throughout all ages of these light-bearers of civilization who in the night-time of wrong, injustice and inhumanity "hold high the torch of truth." Doctor Galvin is proving himself to be one of those chosen few to whom the poet's injunction, thus phrased, is a living creed:

" Speak out by action thy soul's deep belief,
Be true to all, by faith to thine own sooth;
Amid whatever night of doubt and grief
Hold high the ever-blazing torch of truth."

—B. O. F.]

* After many accidents, resulting in numerous deaths, an ordinance had been passed limiting the speed of vehicles to twenty miles an hour.



Photo, by Conlin, Boston.

G. W. GALVIN, M.D.



poor. Expediency—the protection of society, is the reason given in both cases. The poor in Paris, for their own alleged protection, imprisoned the rich. The rich in Boston advanced a similar plea for the imprisonment of the poor. Both excuse their legal actions by the right of self-protection; but why stigmatize the one as the "Reign of Terror" and find no words of condemnation for the other?

The Constitution of this country most explicitly guarantees to every citizen his right to liberty, of which he must not be deprived without due process of law and without the judgment of his peers. I think the time will come when our descendants will consider the indiscriminate arrest of inmates of cheap lodging-houses a greater outrage against human rights than the imposition of a tax on tea on account of which our ancestors had the courage to rebel.

The fundamental basis of our laws is the Constitution, framed by the so-called fathers of the country.

The safe-guarding of our liberty was the object of this document. The courts are the chosen interpreters of its provisions. The Constitution was intended to protect from encroachment the rights and liberties of the people; but by whom and when is an appeal made to-day to the interpreters of our Constitution? Is it by the people, or is it by the possessors of vested rights and privileges? The people by referendum vote declare in favor of a law limiting the time of labor to eight hours per day. An appeal is made to the interpreters of the Constitution. No specific provision is made in that document to cover the point at issue, but by a stretch of the imagination the people are told that the voice of their forefathers forbids limiting their hours of daily labor. A progressive income-tax was passed and levied under the administration of Abraham Lincoln, a lawyer, and the Supreme Court sustained its legality. A similar tax was passed under the administration of Grover Cleveland. An appeal was made to the Supreme Court, and the income-tax,

whose constitutionality was believed in by Abraham Lincoln and his legal advisers and which was upheld by the Supreme Court itself, is now declared by that body to be unconstitutional. The people are told that the voice of the fathers forbids us to tax the rich in larger proportion than the poor.

The Constitution made by our forefathers explicitly states that no one shall be deprived of his liberty without due process of law and without the judgment of his peers. Most of our large cities have passed ordinances, which of course have the force of law, providing that in cases of loitering or vagrancy no jury-trial need be given. Surely here if anywhere the voice of the fathers—the guarantee of the founders, should be invoked in the interests, not only of the Constitution, but also of the rights of man. Yet though we are oversensitive in regard to property interests, the guarantees of the Constitution in regard to human rights are persistently ignored and set aside.

Now what is loitering? What is vagrancy? The ordinance is usually stretched to cover any case where a man is found without employment. Over half of our people are without property, and having no business of their own they might at any time find themselves out of employment and fall under the provisions of this ordinance. This puts more than one-half of the population beyond the protection of the Constitution and places them at the mercy of our legal machinery.

Jury trials are expensive, so very often when another crime is suspected the nominal charge of vagrancy or loitering is made to dispose of the case without delay and to save the money of the State. But over the disputed right to the possession of \$100 the time of judge and jury is sometimes taken up for months and years. The right to a trial by jury to decide the legal ownership of \$100 is never questioned, but in case of a poor man's liberty the money of the State must not be wasted. But, the reader will exclaim, the Constitution guarantees to every American citi-

zen the right to a trial by jury. It also guarantees to every man, no matter how poor, the right to his liberty. And yet, from police officials like Judge Emmons of Boston, to such other state officials as the Governor, the Adjutant-General and the Judges of the Supreme Court of Colorado, these guarantees, which for a hundred years were regarded as the bulwarks of free government, have been in recent months wholly ignored.

Governor Altgeld in a notable work published some years ago,* gives the number of arrests in Chicago in the year 1882 as 32,000, a little over 5 per cent. of the population of the city at that time. He estimated the number of total arrests in the country at 2,500,000 a year. The population of the country was then less than 60,000,000. Conditions since then have certainly not improved. Taking Governor Altgeld's figures as a basis, the number of annual arrests in this country would amount to more than 3,000,000. Three million human beings, often shackled, ruthlessly thrust into patrol-wagons and placed behind the iron bars of a gloomy prison! What an amount of human misery and degradation! What writer can adequately describe the feelings of the unfortunate person taking an involuntary ride in a patrol-wagon, with a policeman's club suspended over his head? All these unfortunates have friends and relatives who must participate in their feelings and to some extent share in their degradation and their ignominy.

The question now arises: Is such an application of our laws necessary and for the general good? Out of the 32,000 people arrested in Chicago in 1882, Governor Altgeld informs us only 1,000 were charged with the commission of a crime. Over 10,000 were discharged by the police magistrates alone, showing that nearly one-third of those arrested were wrongfully arrested. Governor Altgeld rightly claims that arrest and imprisonment for trifling offences before convictions is wrong in principle and works a great in-

**Our Penal Machinery and Its Victims.*

jury, not only to those in prison, but to society itself. To save the weak and neglected from becoming criminals, the all-important thing is to develop and build up their self-respect, their manhood and womanhood. So long as this is wanting, their natural course is downward, and any act that tends to crush this only accelerates their downward course. Our laws are for the protection of society. If a man is drunk, let a policeman bring him home, take his name and address, and assure his appearance before the magistrate. If, for any violation of city ordinances, a money fine is imposed, the rich pay and leave the court with a smile on their lips; but what happens to the poor? They are sent to the work-house, the kindergarten of our penitentiaries. A money fine is imposed to prevent the repetition of the act. A rich automobile-owner is fined \$5 for endangering the life of the citizen. A poor fruit-pedler is fined \$20 for obstructing the sidewalk. When accused of an indictable offence the rich furnish bail and are free to make arrangements for their defence. The poor are kept in confinement and are deprived not only of their liberty, but often of their means of living. What harm has been done a poor man when acquitted? He has lost his position. The stigma of imprisonment rests upon him, notwithstanding his acquittal. He lacks the means of support, and want and resentment often combine to drive him into open rebellion against society and its laws. Out of an innocent victim is made a guilty offender.

Governor Altgeld in the book previously mentioned makes the striking remark: "Our penal machinery is immense. It is costly, and its victims are counted by the millions." He gives carefully-prepared statistical tables dealing with the number of arrests and the proportion of convictions, and important data on prison discipline. The picture of our prison machinery as here exhibited is appalling. The author estimates the value of the debt capital invested in our penal machinery at \$500,000,000; but I shall not

trouble the reader with figures relating to cost and expenses. The question from my standpoint is one of men, not money. Neither shall I confuse the mind by quoting extensively from books of statistics, compiled by the hundreds. I shall only give a few figures which I consider essential to a thorough appreciation of the subject under discussion.*

Year.	Population of U. S.	Prison Population.
1850	23,191,000	6,737
1860	31,443,000	19,086
1870	38,558,871	32,901
1880	50,155,000	58,609
1890	62,622,000	82,329

The population in 1890 was not quite three times as large as in 1850; the criminal population was more than twelve times as large.†

City.	Population.	Arrests.	Per cent.
Boston, 1892	446,000	48,463	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
New York, 1893	1,800,000	84,000	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Milwaukee, 1891	240,000	6,000	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
London, 1894	5,656,000	85,000	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

State.	Inmates in penal institutions.	No. per 10,000 inhab.
Massachusetts	7,683	35
New York	15,914	25
Wisconsin	2,652	15
England	25,000	7.1

Statistics for a later date than 1893 in this country are very meager. The above figures for Boston and New York are, I think, exceptionally high on account of the business depression prevailing in the United States at that period,—a fact that tends to substantiate the theory of the economic cause of criminality being largely dependent on the general lack of

* The authorities from which these compilations are made are Mulhall's *Book of Statistics*; *The Criminal*, by Aug. Draehm; *Police and Prison Cyclopaedia*, by Geo. W. Hale; *Statistics of Crime, Suicide and Insanity*, by Arthur McDonald, published by order of the Fifty-seventh Congress, Second Session, Senate Document No. 11.

† In Germany the prison population was 48 per cent. less in 1898 than in 1881.

‡ In Massachusetts about 14,000 persons are sent annually to prison on account of their inability to pay money fines imposed by police judges.

opportunities to obtain a livelihood through scarcity of labor.‡

Country.	Year.	Convictions for homicide.	No. per 1,000,000 inhab.
England	1894	151	7.4
Ireland	1894	54	14
Germany	1892	476	13.5
France	1895	580	18.7
United States	1890	7,386	119.3

If we compare the sentences given in the United States with those in Europe, we find that the offences against property are punished about five times as severely in the United States as in Western Europe, while offences against the person are punished more severely in the Old World than in this republic.

The number of inmates now in our penal institutions is proportionally much larger than in civilized European countries, and the number of homicides in proportion to the number of inhabitants is from ten to fifteen times greater here than in Europe; but it must not be supposed that the police in Europe are less vigilant and competent, or that the laws are less strictly enforced there than here. Quite contrary is the case. Police surveillance is more strict in Europe than here.

The above figures are well calculated to appal the thoughtful patriot or philanthropist. It will be observed from these statistics that in 1891 Milwaukee, with a population of 240,000, had 6,000 arrests, a percentage of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. In 1892 Boston, with a population of 446,000, had 48,463 arrests, or a percentage of 10 $\frac{1}{4}$; while a year later New York, with a population of 1,800,000, had 84,000, or a percentage of 4 $\frac{1}{2}$; and in 1894, London, with a population of 5,656,000, had 85,000 arrests, a percentage of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$.

The prison showings in the different parts of the world are also strikingly unfavorable to our commonwealth, the ratio of inmates of penal institutions to the ten thousand inhabitants being 35 with us as against 25 in New York, 15 in Wisconsin, and 7.1 in England.

It is idle to seek to explain this amazing disparity which exists between cities so

far removed and so different in character as Boston and Milwaukee and London, for example, as being due to laxity in enforcement of necessary police measures or in the administration of justice. Even if for the sake of argument we should admit a point which would doubtless be controverted by representatives of other cities,—that Boston is in advance of all the other cities in the administration of justice and law—it would be impossible to account for so great a disparity as we find in the statistics. Either we are arresting and imprisoning numbers of persons who should not in the light of the guarantee of our Constitution or the demands of justice and wisdom be arrested and imprisoned (a fact which the arrest of the three hundred out-of-works referred to above would indicate), or the percentage of criminal population in Massachusetts is alarmingly great.

The question which every reader should put to himself is this: Shall we wait till the condition of things now existing in the State of Massachusetts, and especially in Boston, shall have become general in the United States, increasing still more the disadvantage of the republic in comparison with other countries, or shall we do our best to inaugurate a movement in the administration of justice that shall turn the tidal-wave toward juster and better conditions? If conditions in Boston as shown by the above figures were general in the United States, estimating our population at eighty millions, there would be annually over eight million arrests and incarcerations, whereas the number of arrests is considerably below half that figure. If the people of the United States fell to the level indicated by the prison statistics of Massachusetts, our prison population would be 2,800,000 for the Union, while the actual number to-day is about 100,000.

Such is the result which a mere glance at our legal machinery reveals. "It is," to repeat the words of Governor Altgeld, "immense. It is costly and its victims are counted by millions." But in this country is crime repressed, and are life

and property protected? Strange to say, quite the opposite seems to be the case. The young are not deterred, nor are the vicious repressed. Revolting crimes are of most frequent occurrence in all parts of the land, and the feeling is spreading that somehow or other our legal machinery does not protect society. This being the case one is naturally led to ask whether there is not something wrong with the system; whether it is not a great mill which somehow or other supplies its own grist, a maelstrom which keeps on drawing from the outside and then keeps its victims moving in a circle, until swallowed in a vortex. For, it seems first to make criminals out of many who are not naturally so; second, it renders it difficult for those once convicted ever to be anything else than criminals; and, third, it fails to protect society.

That conditions are bad is acknowledged even by our politicians and our would-be philanthropists, but it is a question, which is the more amusing, the excuses given for existing evils or the remedies proposed.

Statistics show that the most religious countries in Europe, Russia, Italy and Spain, have the largest criminal population, Russia surpassing even the United States. Rev. J. W. Horseley informs us that out of 28,351 prisoners in English jails and prisons, only 57 were atheists. Lombroso records that 61 per cent. of criminals and 56 per cent. of assassins in Italy are regular attendants at church. Among Italian murderers M. Ferry found none irreligious. M. Garofalo says of Naples, which city has *the largest criminal population in Italy*, that it is the most religious city in Europe; that no other city can boast of such frequent processions; that no other is so zealous an observer of the practices of the church.

Governor Altgeld informs us that of the persons sent to the work-house in Chicago, the number of those that had gone to school two years or less was ten times larger than the number of those that had gone five years or more. Yet, the number

of persons that go to school less than two years is undoubtedly much less than of those that go to school more than five years.

Statistics show that nine criminals out of ten are day-laborers without a trade, and out of employment when convicted. At a convention of prison-wardens one of the officials, who seemed to possess a clearer insight than many of his co-workers observed that: "The higher the character of the daily pursuits, the greater the unlikelihood of falling into crime; the more secure the employment, the higher the earnings, the lower the percentage of criminals." Yet the only thing that the state does in its pretended attempt to reform the criminal is to install in every penal institution, at a fancy salary, a priest, a parson, and sometimes a rabbi. There have also been formed in this country various associations that are working under the banner of "prison reform," but whose efforts, it seems to me, are for the most part futile, because based on a superficial diagnosis of the trouble; or rather their remedies at best could prove nothing more than palliative, while the crying demand of the age is for fundamental remedies which shall strike at the root of the evil and abolish conditions that foster, favor and make crime inevitable. Our would-be reformers are chiefly concerned with the wickedness of the criminal and how to reform him.

I am not prepared to go as far as a certain school of philosophy which maintains that man is as much the product of natural conditions as anything else in the realm of nature, and that he has no more right to think that he acts of his own volition than the apple, which the law of gravity is drawing from the tree to the ground; but I do hold that in the light of statistics and the incontrovertible evidence and data which we possess, the individual is far less responsible for the crimes committed than is society, which fails to provide adequate education on the one hand and opportunities for renumerative toil on the other. Our prison reformers seem to

overlook the fact that nineteen out of twenty penal inmates belong to the poor and uneducated, and that nine out of ten were out of employment when they were committed for their illegal acts. It is to the cause of the crime and not to the effect that wise statesmanship and enlightened humanitarianism must address their attention.

Governor Altgeld had a glimpse of the truth, although even he failed to recognize its full significance; nor did he see the remedy. He writes: "The subject of crime-producing conditions has received but little attention in the past. It has always been assumed in our treatment of offenders that all had the strength, regardless of previous training and surroundings, to go out into the world and do absolutely right if they only wanted to, and if any one did wrong it was because he chose to depart from good and do evil. Only recently have we begun to recognize the fact that every man is to a great extent what his heredity and early environments have made him, and that the law of cause and effect applies here as well as in nature." These words sound refreshing indeed, especially when we compare them with shallow, superficial conventional platitudes, such as are too often found in prison-reform reports and in the utterances of conservative statesmen, such, for instance, as the following typical examples: "How," writes one of our prison-reformers, "to bring adult criminals to a better mind and heart through agencies applied to them during their confinement, is the problem of the age. When this question will be answered the problem for the repression of crime will have been solved. This problem may well engage the interest and study of the highest statesmanship, for it concerns the order of society and the lives and property of its citizens." Count von Buelow, Chancellor of Germany, said to a deputation of prison-reformers: "The problem of repression of crime is infinitely more worthy to engage the interest and study of statesmen than nine-tenths of the every-day politics that occu-

py so much of the time and attention of statesmen." Ex-President Thiers of France said to the same deputation: "Prison-reform is a work in which all civilized nations have an interest."

If such men would accomplish the great purpose they have in mind, they must devote themselves to improving industrial conditions and the administration of justice.

Our prison associations and statesmen might do a great deal to alleviate the existing evils without adopting the radical and, in my opinion, the only remedy, which I shall state a little later on. They might reform the prison-keepers by removing them when they treat convicts with illegal and wanton cruelty. They might lessen the necessity for crime by instructing the convict in useful work, such as a trade. They might improve his education. They might stop indiscriminate, unjustifiable and brutal arrests. They might give the poor delinquent a reasonable time to pay the fines imposed by police-judges. They might secure a more impartial application of the laws for rich and poor. They might secure a more equitable jurisprudence. What shall we think of verdicts like these at the same term of court? A bank-teller, for a theft of \$500 from his employers, is released on nominal or suspended sentence, while a boy of seventeen is sentenced to prison for three years for stealing a suit of clothes worth less than \$20. Or take two cases that happened in Boston: Moody Merrill, the one-time prominent Boston capitalist, defrauded his creditors, many of whom were poor working people, out of large sums of money. After the disclosures were made he was, however, permitted to escape to parts unknown. Years later, he was apprehended through the efforts of one of his victims, a poor woman whom he had defrauded of her money, and not by the department of justice. He was brought to the city and promptly admitted to a nominal bail, which he jumped and again departed for the southwest, where he died in freedom.

Compare the above case with that of Levi Brigham, whose freedom was recently procured by habeas corpus proceedings and the detailed account of whose case I shall give in a future paper. This man stole an overcoat. He was convicted and sentenced to seven years at hard labor. He spent weeks in dark and years in light solitary confinement. He was clubbed and nearly killed by brutal keepers, and was finally sent to the asylum for insane criminals. Here he was kept for two years after his sentence had expired, and it required the efforts of his relatives and my attorneys and the expenditure of hundreds of dollars to secure his release. But for our efforts he would still be deprived of his liberty.

These and similar facts suggest a field where prison-reformers might do good work in alleviating the sufferings of the poor unfortunate victims of prevailing conditions. But unfortunately, starting from unsound premises, they fail to accomplish even the palliative work which they might otherwise achieve.

Lack of education, mental and manual, and unjust social conditions, drive most convicts into a career of crime. They are imprisoned. Nothing is done in prison to supply the defect mainly responsible for the violation of the law. When they are released their position has become worse than before conviction, for, besides their deficient equipment to earn a living there rests upon them the stigma of a convict. Ten thousand murderers are convicted annually in the United States. The wonder is not that there are so many, but that there are not a great many more.

My remedy for existing evils is based upon the fact established by statistics and experience, that poverty is the father of crime and ignorance the mother of vice. Ignorance and poverty, vice and crime, mutually beget each other. Abolish poverty, abolish undeserved destitution, make education universal and compulsory, and you will have solved the problem, not only of repression of crime, but also of prevention of crime. You will

empty every penal institution in the United States, but how, is the query. My answer is, by recognizing the right to work, which in its final analysis, is the right to live, by giving all an opportunity to produce, if need be under the auspices and management of the state. This need not impair private initiative. Both can exist side by side. Let those who cannot find work in private industries be furnished an opportunity to produce and receive their share of the value produced.

Let those who own to-day the property of the nation and who consider that they do so by divine dispensation, ponder well that question; for it will become more pressing and burning as the time advances. A bill is now pending before the German Reichstag to insure the working-men against enforced idleness. Would it not be preferable to provide them with work? Is it asking too much that he who has nothing but his labor-power should have an opportunity guaranteed him to exercise the same? The manufacturers and the farmers demand good markets for their wares from the state. The state strains all its energies in their behalf. Is not the laborer entitled to the same consideration? Should not the needs of the most unfortunate member of society, the man without employment, be considered above all others?

Our penal system should be brought to a higher level, and I am working to attain that end; but in my opinion the question of prison-reform will never be solved until the problem of the unemployed shall have found its solution.

But I hear people say, these men do not want to work. Let me relate two actual occurrences. An ex-convict sits in my office on a rainy day. He watches the rain with a sad expression and in reply to a question says:

"That rain is putting me on the bum."

"How is that?"

"I was promised a job shoveling snow. This rain takes my job away from me."

In answer to an advertisement for snow-shovelers by the city, thousands of men

applied. I witnessed that sight. The throng pushed and pressed. The official was puzzled as to whom to select and whom to reject. He decided to throw the shovels to the ground and let the men scramble for their possession. The sight was one never to be forgotten. It reminded one of the spectacle of little boys fighting for pennies which some jocularly-inclined rich youth sometimes throws among them. Their fight is for pennies for candy; this was for shovels for bread to sustain life. When the shovels were nearly gone the men fought for their possession with almost beast-like ferocity. They came to blows. I was seized with an indescribable horror and walked, even ran, away; but this picture stands indelibly impressed upon my memory. And these cases are typical.

Economic production as carried on to-day requires a reserve army of laborers, the unemployed. The size of this army fluctuates with the ebb and flow of production. In times of prosperity it is relatively small. In periods of depression it is correspondingly large. It is greater in the winter than in the summer, but the figure of one million would be a conservative estimate for its average size. Society has taken cognizance of this large body in its midst by the passage of certain statutes which are far from creditable to the humanitarian spirit supposed to be present in civilization to-day. These statutes forbid:

1. Loitering. A man out of work found walking the streets of the city is liable under this statute to be arrested and imprisoned.

2. Vagrancy. Men out of employment under this regulation may be apprehended on the highways, though guilty of no wrong against society.

3. Begging. This regulation makes it a crime for a starving man to ask his rich neighbor for a piece of bread, while of course all laws against stealing are most rigidly enforced.

But perhaps the strangest of all the provisions of society in regard to earth's starv-

ing unfortunates is the law against suicide. A society which has forbidden the man who is unable to find employment to walk the public streets or highways unmolested, and which has made it a crime for him to beg for bread, also makes it a crime for him to seek to end his misery in death.

Thus the "Thou shalt nots" of our twentieth-century civilization as applied to the unemployed are in fact "Thou shalt not live" and "Thou shalt not compass thine own death."

G. W. GALVIN.

Boston, Mass.

THE UNITED STATES OF SOUTH AMERICA: A DREAM OF EMPIRE.

BY CHARLES FREDERICK HOLDER, LL.D.,

Author of *The Pioneer Quakers*, *Life of Charles Darwin*, etc.

IT IS patent to every observing citizen that the eyes of the nations of the world are upon the United States. During the past decade America has developed in a remarkable manner. She has outgrown and cast her shell as it were, and stands to-day the greatest nation of the habitable globe, strong, vigorous, resourceful, a type of action and force militant.

That such a power can lie dormant, hibernate in a diplomatic sense, is not possible. No man or men can hold it down, and the taking of Porto Rico, the absorption of the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines, is not the work of one man or the ambition of a party, but an accomplishment of destiny.

These regions are the antennæ of the living force that dominates the American Republic. They are the advance guards, the scouts of our national life, the essentials of progress, growth and development. So rapid and portentous has been the expansion of America that the attention of every nation has been arrested. Every move made, every judicial or diplomatic act is scrutinized by the nations of the world who see not the great moral force that it is, but a menace that must be considered. The American *motive* is the diplomatic question of the day, and is likely to be for a century to come.

The powers affect to believe that the growth of America has seriously dis-

turbed what may be termed the political equipoise of nations, and that the result will be some extraordinary and defensive movement to restore the balance of power in the Western hemisphere may be expected. What will it be? The attempt to disintegrate the American nation, to weaken it by forcing the issue of the independence of States, died with the surrender of Lee, to the regret of many of the powers. So no diversion can be expected in the United States itself, but in South America, that vast region reaching away from the Isthmus to Patagonia, there is a marvelous field for intrigue, and that an attempt will be made to centralize these powers seems a foregone conclusion.

The field is rich, the conditions pregnant with possibility. We see a splendid domain lying in the same general position as the nations which have produced the greatest men of science, art and statescraft in the Northern hemisphere, and it is inconceivable that they will much longer be blind to their opportunity or resist the dulcet overtures of destiny calling for the unification of South American governments.

The time is ripe for the greatest revolution of history in this land of revolutions. It means at once the restoration of the balance of power and the salvation of the Latin races of South America, and it is to be hoped that they will take the initiative

themselves and not wait for the pressure of the mailed hand of Europe to provide the leader and the sinews of war and statehood.

The period has passed when any serious argument can be raised against such a consummation as a logical proposition, and it will be accomplished when the man shall appear with a genius sufficient to bind this vast, unsymmetrical, dismembered political machine into a homogeneous nation.

Such a movement cannot fail to arouse the enthusiasm of the world, as despite sectionalism and jealousies, the spectacle of the degradation of the Latin race, which once led the world in art, commerce, exploration and colonization, the nations which blazed the American trail across the pathless seas, is a pitiable one and few there are who would not rejoice to see them again in line joining in the triumphant progress of the great nations of the earth.

It has been manifest for years that the integral parts of an influential body-politic were lying on the South American continent, separated by fraternal wars, disconnected by jealousy and private ambition, and that the logical cure was to build up the skeleton, collect all its limbs, clothe it with flesh and blow into its nostrils the breath of national life. This would seem the work of a magician or genii, yet the most obtuse looker-on in the affairs of nations, cannot contemplate seeing these disconnected members, these pseudo-moribund republics of Brazil, Chili and the rest, and not marvel that they have not long ago read their destiny and rehabilitated themselves.

Possessed of marvelous latent power, this vast region, its force shattered by interneclinal wars, without standing or status of the first rank among nations, has the power to coalesce, become states instead of republics, and at one move take a position that would command the respect of the nations of the world as the United States of South America.

An examination into the resources and

possibilities of this not improbable empire of the South only makes the observer marvel that it has not occurred before, so manifest, so logical are the reasons for its consummation. To-day South America is the *vis-a-vis* of the United States in the Southern hemisphere, though more than twice as large, reaching up into the equatorial regions and far down into the South Polar section. It not only has all the latitudinal resemblance, so far as climate is concerned, to the United States, but it has more, possessing the equatorial region of the Amazon and wealth of ores and timber untouched and unknown. What centralization would mean for South America can be comprehended by a glance at the possible states. At present they are represented by so-called republics which have little power or influence among nations. They are merely passive districts, controlled by the dominating party, each having a history so redolent with revolution, so reeking with dictatorial policies and methods, that hardly one to-day, except Mexico, has a standing among great nations; and even this is kept in *statu quo* by a single genius and could not adequately defend itself against any European nation of the first class.

The region constituting this possible nation includes all of the republics from Mexico to Terre del Fuego, in its entirety a magnificent domain, but in its present condition helpless and without influence in the court of nations. In this vast region are fifty millions of people the majority of whom are aborigines speaking the Spanish or native languages; but there are also many Europeans. Thus in the Argentine Republic, where the interest in consolidation would be most dominant, there are half a million Caucasians; in Venezuela, thirty millions; in Peru, twenty millions; in Chili, sixteen; in Uruguay, one hundred thousand.

Central America proper includes Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaraugua, Costa Rica, British Honduras and Panama, and represents about three hundred and five thousand square miles, with a pop-

ulation of eight millions. This region has always been the most offensive to other nations, due to its countless revolutions, it being a common saying that governments change with the going down of the sun. Salvador is the most densely populated having about seventy-eight inhabitants to the square mile. In the entire group the estimated density of population is twenty-four to the square mile.

Mexico alone has an area of 751,177 square miles, and a population of ten millions.

Coming to South America proper we find a most irrational disposition of space. The region is divided into republics, in turn divided into provinces: Colombia, Venezuela, Guiana, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chili, Argentine Republic (including Patagonia), Uruguay, Paraguay and Brazil. This comprises 7,755,535 square miles, with a population of 28,380,371, with an average of three to four persons living on every square mile—a vast region very sparsely populated.

It is manifest that many of these vast sections could be more satisfactorily divided into states. Thus Brazil, with her area of 3,287,963 square miles, could be made over into three states each having a sea frontage. This would have many advantages, chief of which would be to provide offices for the insidious and active Latin politicians prone to revolution. The Argentine Republic, with her area of over one million square miles, could well be divided into two states, one fronting the Atlantic, with Buenos Ayres as her capital, and the other by absorbing the north of Chili, with Coquimbo as her chief city; while Chili could absorb Patagonia, thus gaining the great harbors of St. Matthias and St. George's bays, about the latitude of Chicago, and the Falklands on the Atlantic coast. Such a nation, with a capital or central government at Buenos Ayres, about the latitude of Nashville, Tenn., would possess the essential of a great and powerful government.

Even a superficial examination into the present financial conditions of the pros-

pective states of this nation, suggest that the dogma, that in union exists strength, is one that will appeal to those upon whom the responsibility of sustaining the national financial integrity rests. Mexico, according to the census of 1882, had a debt of \$144,953,785. Her income was \$25,725,000, while the national expenditures were \$25,221,696,—not particularly encouraging to the national book-keeper. In Guatemala, the national debt in 1882 was \$7,139,169, and the revenue and government expense-list equaled this amount almost exactly; but it is not known whether this expense-account included interest on the national debt; we may assume that it did. Honduras had a national debt of \$1,578,609, and a revenue of \$869,970, while the annual expenditures amounted to \$759,970. The debt of others at this time may be seen from the following table:

Republic.	Debt.	Revenue.	Yearly National Expense-Account.
Salvador,	\$2,078,885	\$3,272,740	\$3,122,063
Nicaragua,	1,177,774	2,436,093	2,570,137
Costa Rica,	6,258,629	2,802,279	3,460,597
Colombia,	73,585,644	4,843,800	7,269,932
Venezuela,	67,309,990	4,680,000	4,488,000
Brazil,	407,716,057	58,479,000	59,143,529
Ecuador,	16,370,000	2,845,000	2,585,000
Bolivia,	42,900,000	22,574	4,505,504
Peru,	213,882,688	33,300,832	32,531,561
Chili,	74,582,048	16,920,000	17,057,721
Argentine Republic,	81,596,952	19,898,777	19,836,501
Uruguay,	47,861,042	8,252,067	7,857,275
Paraguay,	251,000,000	219,599	270,031

In making these estimates it has been the desire not to show the nations at their best, hence the census of 1882 was selected; since then the financial conditions in all the South American countries has much improved.

It is interesting to note that the bonded indebtedness of British Guiana, at this time under British rule, was but \$24,447, while that of Paraguay, under Latin domination, was \$251,000,000. British Guiana has a revenue of \$409,000, while Paraguay receives but one half of this. In other words, Paraguay, with a population of about three hundred thousand, had at that time a debt out of all proportion to her income and expenses. Paraguay's annual expense list was \$270,000. How

she accumulated a debt of \$251,000,000 would be interesting to know; doubtless she would welcome the assumption of her bonded indebtedness by a symposium of states.

We are, then, in a position to see what would be the condition of the new nation upon its individual assumption of the entire national bonded indebtedness of the various republics. In a general way, the national debt of the United States of South America would be one billion dollars, or about equal to that of the United States of North America, which at that time—1882—was \$1,675,023,474. This is somewhat appalling when it is remembered that the United States of North America had a population of 64,000,000; South America, not one-half this number, a large percentage being natives and non-producers. Yet this is not discouraging to the nation-builder, as South America is a vast producer, and it is well known that her riches have hardly been tapped and her agricultural lands hardly scratched.

It is the latent possibilities of a region that give it promise of position, and an examination of the resources of the republics of South America indicate that here is a vast wealth which but requires capital, intelligence and the infusion of Anglo-Saxon stimulus, to start a Pactolian stream flowing into the coffers of a strong central government, keyed up to the highest note of integrity and stability.

Taking the annual exports of the United States at the time previously quoted as a basis, we find it amounts to an income of \$650,000,000 per annum. Brazil alone exported in 1882 productions equivalent to a third of this sum, or in round numbers, \$222,351,700, a magnificent showing. Mexico's exports were \$32,000,000; Chili's, \$51,000,000; Argentine Republic's, \$56,000,000. The lowest was Bolivia's, \$50,000, coming from exports. The sum total of the exports of South American republics was in round numbers, \$460,000,000 per annum, or within two hundred millions of the exports of the entire United States at the

same time. In twenty years both countries have grown with remarkable strides, the United States especially; yet it is not believed that this ratio is greatly impaired.

In this magnificent showing, telling the story of the possibilities of the proposed republic, lies the faith in the success of the greatest merger in the history of the world, and it is needless to say that it appeals as a logical argument to the doubter who has been confronted with a ponderous national debt.

In nearly all the republics of South America there is a satisfactory balance between exports and imports. That of Chili in 1882 was \$21,000,000; Brazil, \$48,000,000; Bolivia alone showed \$20,000 on the wrong side of the ledger. Knowing the vast wealth of South America, her grain fields, her agricultural possibilities, her mineral wealth ranging from coal to diamond mines, her forests of mahogany, her plantations of rubber, and her varied productions ranging from coffee, rice and tobacco to all the fruits of the tropics and temperate zones, the political economist cannot fail to see a brilliant future in this remarkable and quasi-revolutionary movement.

It is true that a large area lies within the tropics from which cannot be expected the vigor and virility which characterizes the dominant races of Europe or North America, yet part of Brazil, Paraguay, Chili, Argentine Republic and Uruguay lies south of the Tropic of Capricorn in the relative position of that portion of the United States of North America which has produced her most brilliant men in nearly every branch of life. The latitude of Patagonia is fifty degrees south, just above the Falkland Islands and near Cape Horn, but this is the latitude of the mouth of the St. Lawrence on the east, while on the west in the United States lies an empire—Alaska—several thousand miles farther to the northwest. Concepcion, Chili, is in the latitude of Philadelphia, and Buenos Ayres that of Little Rock, Arkansas, and Cape Hatteras; and if the capital of the new republic should be

placed in the corresponding latitude of Washington it would appear in Blanco Bay in the south of Argentine, the most promising to-day of all the great South American republics.

In contemplating the possibilities of this consolidation the character of the people is to be considered. It is evident that Mexico, with her population of ten millions, and Brazil with fourteen millions (the latter with an army of thirty thousand or more, and a navy of iron-clads, cruisers and torpedo-boats), would exercise a dominant influence. Brazil alone under rational development would be a power among the states, if not divided. This vast country, practically unknown and undeveloped, has an area of 3,000,000 square miles. It is nearly as wide as the United States and contains twenty-one provinces, ten of which at least exceed Great Britain in size. Its climate, taken as a whole, is excellent, and its enormous rivers and their branches, cutting the country like arteries in every direction, suggest its magnificent commercial possibilities.

In Brazil there are 386,995 aborigines, or what are termed Indians. Of mulattoes and mixed races there are over 3,000,000, and there are over 1,000,000 pure negroes who were taken there as slaves. The greatest interest is Portuguese, with a large percentage of Spanish, and not a few Dutch. In all the republics is found a sprinkling of Americans and Europeans, especially in Peru and Chili,

who own vast concerns, and whose influence would be potent in any movement to add a new star to the firmament of nations.

The objection will be raised that the individuality of nations, as Chili and Peru, would be lost and their history defiled; but Florida as a sovereign State possesses to-day more individuality, more power than when it was a colony of Spain. So with Louisiana and Texas. Under the flags of Spain and France they were nothing, but as equal and component parts of a great nation they are the nation.

Alaska as a Russian possession was a herding-place for seals; to-day it is fast becoming an important section of the United States and in time will take place as a great producer. And so with South America. Divided she has no strength and never can have, but by joining hands, her manifest destiny, she would take her place among the greatest nations of the world and become a formidable rival of all commercial nations.

The interest which this nation would have in this gigantic merger is entirely speculative, and the movement, if successful, would be watched with interest by all civilized nations as a national exercise of the truest function and one of the most remarkable movements of modern times resulting in the making of a mighty nation on the shores of the Southern oceans.

CHARLES FREDERICK HOLDER.
Pasadena, Cal.

CRISES IN JAPANESE HISTORY.

III.

THE DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

BY PROFESSOR EDWIN MAXEY, M.Dip., LL.D.,
Of the Law Department of the University of West Virginia.

THINKING men are becoming more and more convinced that war is something neither to be sought after nor to be entered upon lightly; that it is too costly financially and morally to command itself

as a means of settling international disputes; and that as it settles nothing as to the right and wrong of the question at issue, but simply determines the relative fighting ability of the parties, it is an irra-

tional proceeding. Yet however destructive it may be to human life and to the productive powers of a nation, however repellent to mind and heart and stomach, it will be a necessary evil just so long as any nation chooses to resort to it. For whenever any nation insists upon doing so, it can always compel any or all of the others to meet force with force. From this it is evident that the rapidity of progress toward universal peace must ever be regulated by the pace set by the slowest member in the procession, though this fact need not hinder the leaders from encouraging the laggards to quicken their pace.

Such being the case, it is folly to condemn a nation for being at war until we have inquired why it is at war; for its action is justifiable or unjustifiable according to the necessity under which it acted. In other words, if force is the only available means for defending the rights and the life of a nation, then a resort to force must needs be justifiable. No amount of dogmatism or theorizing in peace congresses and elsewhere can ever deprive a nation of its right of self-defence, for the law of self-preservation is as primal and as sacred to the nation as to the individual.

In order that we may apply this canon of political philosophy to the present war between Japan and Russia, and thus determine to our own satisfaction the necessity therefor and so enable ourselves to read intelligently this page in Japanese history, it is necessary that we get clearly before our minds the facts that are responsible for the resort to force.

In our previous article reference was made to one of the main facts, viz., the duplicity of Russia in forming a coalition to rob Japan of "a certain piece or parcel of land," under the insincere pretension of a desire to preserve the "integrity of the Chinese Empire." If there is any wrong which is more difficult to forgive or forget than others, it is that of having been robbed of a piece of land; and to aggravate the crime, and hence the Japanese feeling of resentment, the use made of the plunder was such as to convince Japan, or anybody else, that Russia was acting in

bad faith; that instead of championing the cause of decadent China from purely benevolent motives, she was availing herself of the weakness of China to further her own schemes for self-aggrandizement. Repeated promises to the powers that Russia would evacuate Manchuria were made, only to be broken. No satisfactory explanation of her failure to keep these promises has ever been given to Japan or to anyone else. The necessity for continued military occupation of Manchuria was evident to no one save Russia herself. The purpose of the Russian fortification at Port Arthur could scarcely be reconciled with the alleged peacefulness of her mission in the Orient. Neither could the expenditure of fabulous sums upon these and upon docks, administrative buildings, etc., at Dalny be made to harmonize with an intention upon the part of Russia to restore these places to China at the expiration of the lease.

These cumulative evidences of bad faith were strengthened by additional demands upon China as the price to be paid by her for what was admittedly her own; by the Russian opposition to treaties being negotiated between China and the United States for the opening of additional ports and consulates in Manchuria; and by the rapid increase in the Russian fleet in the Yellow Sea, an increase out of all proportion to the increase in her commerce or other legitimate interests. So that when Russia secured a timber concession in Corea, which she deemed it necessary to protect with her troops, it was sufficiently evident that she intended to repeat in that country the tactics which had apparently worked so beautifully in connection with railway concessions and temporary leases in Manchuria.

The geographical position of Corea is such that any invasion of it by Russia, no matter under how innocent or pious a pretext, would bring Japan face to face with the question of taking steps to prevent the consummation of a scheme which threatened her national safety. For with Manchuria and Corea under Russian control, whether open or covert,

Japan would become but an appendage of the Russian Empire. Such a role the spirit of the Japanese people would not, and should not, permit them to play. She therefore opened negotiations with St. Petersburg for the purpose of reaching an understanding which would form the basis of a settlement at once honorable to both parties and a guarantee of peaceful relations between them, so essential to the development of the Orient.

So interesting are these negotiations, which, owing to the kindness of the Japanese Minister at Washington, I have before me in full, that I am convinced it will be entirely fitting to quote at some length from them. In fact, I know of no better way to assist the reader to an understanding of the diplomatic side of the controversy.

The correspondence opens with a telegram of July 28, 1903, from Baron Komura, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, to Mr. Kurino, the Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg, setting forth the necessity for an understanding between the two governments. It is in substance as follows:

"The Japanese Government have observed with close attention the development of affairs in Manchuria, and they view with grave concern the present situation there. So long as there were grounds for hope that Russia would carry out her engagement to China and her assurances to the other powers on the subject of evacuation of Manchuria, the Japanese Government maintained an attitude of watchful reserve. But the recent action of Russia in formulating new demands at Peking and in consolidating rather than relaxing her hold on Manchuria, compels belief that she has abandoned the intention of retiring from Manchuria, while her increased activity along the Corean frontiers is such as to raise doubts regarding the limits of her ambition. The unrestrained permanent occupation of Manchuria by Russia would create a condition of things prejudicial to the security and interest of Japan. Such occupation

would be destructive of the principle of equal opportunity and in impairment of the territorial integrity of China. But, what is of still more moment to the Japanese Government, Russia, stationed on the flank of Corea, would be a constant menace to the separate existence of that Empire, and in any event it would make Russia the dominant power in Corea. Corea is an important outpost in Japan's line of defence, and Japan consequently considers the independence of Corea absolutely essential to her own repose and safety. Japan possesses paramount political as well as commercial and industrial interests and influence in Corea, which, having regard for her own security, she cannot consent to surrender to, or share with, any other power." (A Japanese Monroe Doctrine.) "The Japanese Government have given the matter their most serious consideration and have resolved to approach the Russian Government in a spirit of conciliation and frankness with the view to the conclusion of an understanding designed to compose questions which are at this time the cause of just and natural anxiety; and, in the estimation of the Japanese Government, the moment is opportune for making the attempt to bring about the desired adjustment."

This request was presented to Count Lamsdorff in the form of a Note Verbale; and as the Russian Government consented to enter into negotiations, Mr. Kurino, in accordance with instructions from Baron Komura presented on, August 12th, the following proposals as the basis of an understanding.

"1. Mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Chinese and Corean Empires and to maintain the principles of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in those countries.

"2. Reciprocal recognition of Japan's preponderating interests in Corea, and Russia's special interests in railway enterprises in Manchuria, and of the right of Japan to take in Corea and of Russia to

take in Manchuria such measures as may be necessary for the protection of their special interests as above defined, subject, however, to the provisions of Article 1 of this agreement.

"3. Reciprocal undertaking on the part of Russia and Japan not to impede development of those industrial and commercial activities respectively of Japan in Corea and of Russia in Manchuria, which are not inconsistent with the stipulations of Article 1 of this agreement.

"Additional engagement on the part of Russia not to impede the eventual extension of the Corean railway into southern Manchuria, so as to connect with the East China and Shanhakwan-New-chwang lines.

"4. Reciprocal engagement that in case it is found necessary to send troops by Japan to Corea, or by Russia to Manchuria, for the purpose of either protecting the interests mentioned in Article 2 of this agreement, or of suppressing insurrection or disorder calculated to create international complications, the troops so sent are in no case to exceed the actual number required and to be forthwith recalled as soon as their missions are accomplished.

"5. Recognition on the part of Russia of the exclusive right of Japan to give advice and assistance in the interests of reform and good government in Corea, including military assistance if necessary.

"6. This agreement to supplant all previous arrangements between Japan and Russia respecting Corea."

It will be seen that there is nothing in these, with the possible exception of the fifth, to which Russia could consistently object, provided her promises to the powers had been made in good faith. But from the first she pursued a policy of delay. Nearly three weeks were used up in arguing for a change in the place at which the negotiations should be conducted; while Japan was convinced that as negotiations had been begun at St. Petersburg nothing could be gained by

changing to Tokio, but as Russia was obstinate, Japan yielded. Later a considerable delay was caused for the alleged reason that the Empress had the ear-ache. The Czar's object in effecting a change in the place for conducting the negotiations was to increase Viceroy Alexieff's influence over the progress of them. This was mistake number one, as it greatly lessened the chances of a pacific settlement.

After a delay of nearly two months, Russia submitted counter-proposals containing substantially the same provisions with reference to Corea as those proposed by Japan, but ignoring the Manchurian question entirely, except in Article VII., which provides for "Recognition by Japan of Manchuria and its littoral as in all respects outside her sphere of interests." This article, she contended, was the only compensation to Russia for her concessions to Japan in Corea; to which Japan replied that she was not asking for any concessions from Russia with respect to Manchuria, her proposal being simply to have confirmed in the agreement the principle which had been voluntarily and repeatedly declared by Russia, and further, "that Japan possessed in Manchuria treaty-rights and commercial interests, and she must obtain from Russia a guarantee for the security of those rights and interests as well as of the independence of Corea which would be constantly menaced by Russia's definitive occupation of Manchuria."

As Russia persisted in delaying the negotiations upon one pretext or another, and in arrogantly insisting that the Manchurian question was "a question exclusively between Russia and China," the patience of the Japanese finally gave way. On February 5th, Mr. Kurino handed to Count Lamsdorff a note saying that:

"The successive refusals of the Russian Government to enter into engagements to respect China's territorial integrity in Manchuria, which is so seriously menaced by their continued occupation of the pro-

vince, notwithstanding their treaty engagements with China and their repeated assurances to other powers possessing interests in those regions, have made it necessary for the Government of Japan seriously to consider what measures of self-defence they are called upon to take.

"In the presence of delays which remain largely unexplained and naval and military activities which it is difficult to reconcile with entirely pacific aims, the Imperial Government has exercised in the negotiations a degree of forbearance which they believe affords abundant proof of a sincere desire to remove from their relations with the Imperial Russian Government every cause for future misunderstanding. But finding in their efforts no prospect of securing from the Imperial Russian Government an adhesion to Japan's moderate proposals or to any other proposals likely to establish a firm and enduring peace in the extreme East, the Imperial Government has no other alternative than to terminate the present futile negotiations. In adopting that course the Imperial Government reserves to itself the right to take such independent action as they may deem best to consolidate and defend their menaced position, as well as to protect their established rights and legitimate interests."

This plain though diplomatic language, taken together with the Japanese Minister's request for his passports, meant war. For although it was not a technical declaration of war, it was nevertheless unmistakable evidence of Japan's conviction that Russia was not acting in good faith, and hence a pacific settlement would be simply temporary. Confidence in each other is essential to accomplishing anything save delay by diplomatic means. But delay was the very thing which Japan could not afford. The only question remaining for Japan to answer was whether or not she could afford to take the chances of an appeal to force. That she was taking greater chances than her antagonist was evident, for while defeat would mean

to Russia a loss of men, material and territory, to Japan it might mean a loss of national existence. Seldom has a nation been forced to face a more serious situation.

Yet the world did not have long to wait in order to find out what Japan considered the wisest thing to do under all the circumstances in the case. Promptness in decision and rapidity of action meant everything to her. Within four days after the delivery of the above note, she had dealt the Russian navy a blow which so crippled it as to give to Japan the control of the sea, which she has since held, and, so far as can now be foreseen, will continue to hold until the close of the war. If in this she succeeds, Russia can hope for nothing better than a drawn fight, and will very likely be compelled to accept worse terms than those offered her by Japan at the beginning of the negotiations. Whatever our sympathies, it is hard to withhold from Japan our admiration of the fortitude and unanimity with which her people preferred to risk everything rather than surrender what they conceived to be their national rights and interests.

In the diplomatic game they were but novices; yet it is entirely within the facts to say that their cleverness in this line did not suffer at all by comparison with that of the Russian professionals. Nor is this a small or trifling compliment to their skill and resourcefulness, when we consider that the Russians are almost universally considered past-masters in the art of diplomacy. The style of their diplomacy was very different, that of the Japanese being characterized by frankness and clearness, while that of the Russians was evasive and equivocal. In other words, the Japanese adopted the American conception of diplomacy, while the Russians adhered to the Machiavellian conception.

So much space has been given to the diplomatic side of the controversy that a discussion of the international bearings and military achievements must needs be reserved for a future article.

EDWIN MAXEY.
Morgantown, W. Va.



Photo. by Hall, New York.

ARNOLD DALY IN "CANDIDA"—ACT II.

ARNOLD DALY AND BERNARD SHAW: A BIT OF DRAMATIC HISTORY.

BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Ph.D.

ABOUT five years ago, a struggling young actor of talent hit upon a bright idea. He saw a vision of success in the ultra-modern drama. He had started his career four or five years previous to this time as an office-boy for Charles Frohman. He was now playing the mad lover with Julia Marlowe in "Barbara Frietchie." During these first years, it had often been his fate to play unimportant roles for five dollars a week.

One night, while talking with a party of his fellow-actors, he suggested the idea of forming a club and giving matinée performances of plays that were worth while. Some of the unexploited plays of the dramatist of the new school were in his

mind at the time. It was useless, he feared, to appeal to the theater-managers. Such uncertain material they were afraid, for commercial reasons, to touch.

The young actor's friends were delighted with the idea. Each one had his ideal of what the drama ought to be. Perhaps each one saw himself or herself as the bright, particular star in the projected constellation of brilliant modern plays. The young actor secured the right for the production of "Candida" from Mr. George Bernard Shaw, and rehearsals began in earnest. But everything went wrong. Daniel Frohman, who was to be known as manager of the affair, complained that the actress cast

for the title role was doing poorly at night in her regular work, owing to nervousness over the "Candida" rehearsals. She soon resigned her part. The actor cast for Morell kept persistently away from the rehearsals. His substitute was soon to be married, and therefore, in Scriptural fashion, could not come.

For some reason or on some pretext, through diffidence or because of managerial refusal, the actors one by one dropped out. And so, for the time, the young actor was defeated of his purpose. But the idea never left him for a moment. He continued to cherish the hope of producing "Candida" and other plays of the new school.

He sought at different times during the next five years to put his plan into execution. He besieged the managers of the New York theaters, in the effort to persuade them to his way of thinking. But they were not to be convinced that the enthusiastic young actor had any right to judge of the value of a play. The managers under whom he had formerly worked for five dollars a week continued to rate his opinion on that basis. They would not believe that he was far-sighted or even that he had the right to express an opinion.

One manager to whom he presented his idea had just expended three thousand dollars in the rehearsal of a play. This expense was incurred because the author

insisted that every scene should be set, and every property used at every rehearsal. The rehearsals were conducted at a rather small theater where another play was running, so the properties and scenery had to be carted out and in every day.

"Do you know how many plays like 'Candida' you could produce for the sum you have expended on drayage?" the manager was asked.

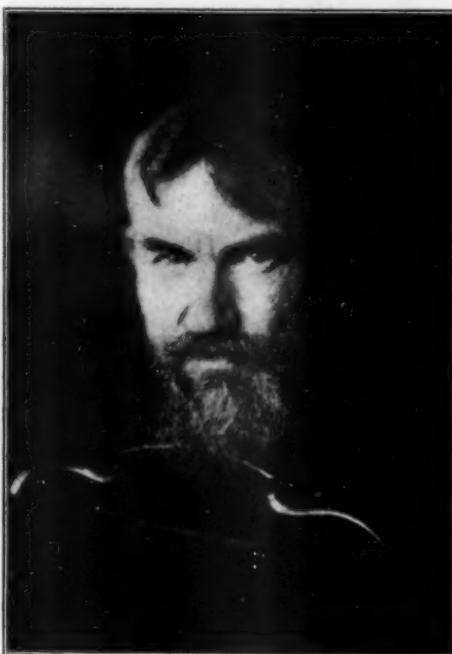
"Yes," he answered, "three plays."

"Well," the young actor said to him, "I have a little money that I am going to put into this venture, but the more money the more chance of success. I'll sell you a half interest if you'll put the play on in your house and furnish an equal amount of capital. With the investment of the same amount of money, you can produce three Shaw plays and stand just three times as great a chance for success."

You would not hesitate to put the amount on a horse race."

The manager could not see it, however, and produced the other play, which proved a failure.

The young actor remained undismayed by his repeated failures. Disappointed in his efforts to win the confidence of the managers, he turned next to various actresses in New York. Originally Hilda Spong wanted to play the part of Candida, but her manager objected. Annie Russell was enthusiastic over the idea, but her



G. BERNARD SHAW.

(By courtesy of Gustav Kobbé.)

manager too interposed. He did not think it wise to risk her making a failure at a matinée when she was having such success with her evening bill. Many of the leading actresses in this country were besought to take the part, but they could n't see it, for some reason or other, either because Mr. Shaw was not a successful dramatist or because they feared "Candida" was above the heads of a majority of the average theater-goers.

Beaten at every turn by the lack of confidence of managers and leading actresses in Mr. Shaw's merits as a dramatist and his own claims as a prophet, the undaunted actor determined at last not to go into the thing on the communistic basis. He resolved to hire the players and pay them their price. His opportunity did not arrive until late last autumn, quite a long while to wait for the attainment of an end. But the success that finally attended his efforts was the deserved reward of his long wait for the fruitage of a hope.

Mr. Arnold Daly—for that, as everyone now knows, is the young actor's name—was playing the part of Major André's faithful servant in the Clyde Fitch play of that name early last autumn. Later he was in the cast of "The Girl from Dixie," which failed to make the hit that was expected. He feared that he might soon be without an engagement. On December 8th "Candida" had its first trial at a

matinée and was favorably noticed by the critics. So Mr. Daly transferred it from the matinée to the evening bill. The *dénouement* was worth all of Mr. Daly's sustained and prolonged efforts. The unique, stimulating, even beautiful little play proved the surprise of the dramatic season. It became the topic of general discussion. It was "Candida" here, "Candida" there, "Candida" everywhere. Instead of proving a fad of brief duration however, the edifying little play drew audiences steadily increasing in size and enthusiasm. It might have played longer to crowded audiences in New York, for the play was attractive and thought-provoking, the actors earnest, beautifully trained and exceptionally well cast, and the audiences all that could be desired in the way of enthusiasm. But on April 23d, after a run of more than one hundred

and fifty performances, the company went on the road and met with the duplicate of the New York success. Boston vied with New York in appreciation of the play and the players.

After "Candida" had proved a success in New York, Mr. Daly added to his repertory the little bravura piece "The Man of Destiny"—a sketch of Napoleon, by Mr. Shaw, that promises to take high rank for the historical verity of its characterization. For his wonderfully sympathetic interpretations of the roles of the pre-Raphaelite poet Marchbanks and the



ARNOLD DALY.



Photo. by Hall, New York.

ARNOLD DALY IN "CANDIDA."

Corsican adventurer Bonaparte, Mr. Daly has already been classed with Mansfield. It is predicted on all sides that a very brilliant future awaits him.

While Mr. Daly and his well-trained company deserve all the praise that has been freely accorded them, the other factor in the success of "Candida" and "The Man of Destiny" must not be overlooked. That factor is Mr. Shaw himself, the most interesting personality to be found in the ranks of living English dramatists. He is distinguished alike for versatility, cleverness and brilliancy. A skilled executant upon many instruments, from each one he has evoked a strain that arrested, if only for a moment, the atten-

tion of the public. After twelve years of more consistent and faithful effort than the ordinary man of letters usually displays, Mr. Shaw is at last beginning to receive wide notice and discriminating appreciation, two things he has long sought in vain.

Mr. Shaw has for years been expressing his disapproval concerning the modern stage. In his own definite and original way, he has sought constructively to reform it. That his object is both a worthy and necessary one cannot be doubted. From all sides to-day is heard a wail of disapproval of the present status of the stage in England and America. Mr. W. B. Yeats has declared that the average audience comes to the theater—"the theater of commerce," to use his telling phrase—for every motive in the world save the sole valid reason—to be thrilled, moved, made to think.

Mr. Henry Arthur Jones, the dramatist, Mr. William Archer, the dramatic critic, and many other serious students of the contemporary English drama have recently voiced their pessimism concerning the English stage. Mr. William Winter, the dean of dramatic critics in America, and Mr. Cyrus Townsend Brady, the prolific novelist, have very lately expressed themselves with force and bitterness, not unmixed with contempt, concerning the low ebb which the theater has reached in this country.

Mr. Shaw is to be reckoned as one of the most suggestive and certainly the most brilliant of all the critics of the modern British stage (understanding the word critic in its broadest sense). And his dis-

tinction consists not only in the cleverness of his critical attacks upon the stage, but also in the notable effort he has made, in actually writing plays, to elevate its plane. And there is no one better fitted to write of modern life and modern ideas than Mr. Shaw. Indeed it would be difficult to find a man who is more brilliant and at the same time typical of this frantically restless new century. His plays are scintillating, invigorating and edifying. In them is to be observed no indecision of purpose, no hint of vacuity, no suspicion of decadence. Mr. Shaw lives in the real world of vital modern thought and delights in its problems, its restlessness, its comedy and its tragedy. Even when he writes about the past, which is seldom, it is to view it through the many-sided prism of modern thought and modern intelligence. He is of the world to-day, a twentieth-century man with no apologies for that distinction.

He is thoroughly imbued with the most modern ideas. History he has studied through Mömmsen, socialism through Marx, drama through Ibsen, philosophy through Nietzsche, and art through Rossetti and Burne-Jones. His career has marked him as an adept in many lines of literary effort. Of Irish extraction, he was born on July 26, 1856, in Dublin. He went to London when twenty years of age, and began his career by writing novels. He wrote four or five novels, which were refused by both English and American publishers. They subsequently appeared in socialistic organs, which were usually supported by enthusiastic socialistic sympathizers. *Cashel Byron's Profession*, his best-known novel, was newly revised not long ago and is published by Grant Richards. Caring less for novelism however than criticism, and discouraged no doubt by his experience as a novelist, Mr. Shaw next turns critic and uses the *Fabian Society* and the *Saturday Review* as the mediums for the circulation of his critical and social theories.

Mr. Shaw early learned the lesson that the way to arouse the attention of the

stolid British public is to attack its sense of order and propriety. He remembered with Thackeray, that in order to gain the notice of the British lion it is only necessary to tweak his tail. Accordingly he mounted the cart-wheel of notoriety and, to the blaring of brass-bands, declared himself a natural-born mountebank. "Come hither," he said, "and I will tell you what a remarkable freak I am." So in his cart-wheel declaration he announces himself as an atheist, an anarchist and a vegetarian. He had already grown tired of writing socialist tracts, novels and *critiques* of music, painting and the drama. The writing of plays attracted him now, because he thought the theater needed him. His first step was a concrete effort towards its reformation.

He has been mistakenly called the "apostle of pessimism," a title which does not give a just idea of his point-of-view or of his philosophy of life. He rather showed to the public a condition of mind at variance with popular standards. As an atheist, he shocked the church-goer. As a socialist he offended the class-worshiper. As a vegetarian he won the contempt of the beef-eating Briton. Of fashionable life, ever open to authors of brilliancy and talent, he expressed disfavor and intolerance. Against the ideal of duty he set the idea of freedom. To the ideal of heroism he opposed the practicality of common-sense. Romantic sentiment he would replace by scientific natural history.

Out of patience with the low state of the modern stage, he declared that the existing popular drama is quite out of the question for cultivated people who are accustomed to use their brains. He thinks the drama should create the theater, instead of the reverse—the prevailing order of the day. No one more than Mr. Shaw deplores the present vogue of the musical comedy or the puerile inanities of modern plays in which the plot is usually hatched by the stage-setting. No regeneration can come, he believes, so long as the drama of the day is written "for the thea-

ters instead of from its own inner necessity." As now constituted, modern dramas, in Mr. Shaw's view, may be classified under three heads, "neurotic, erotic and tommyrotic."

Everything commonly styled "popular" meets with his scorn and contempt. Popular religion, popular art, popular heroics are the bane of his existence. He sees behind the veil of popular morality the grinning face of deceit. A socialist, he is profoundly imbued with an enthusiasm for social truths as an instrument of social reform. He is anxious to see the joints of time, a process more agreeable to him than to the sorrowful Hamlet. He finds the social structure insecure and unsafe, and is chiefly concerned with setting it right. Popular romance is the great modern vice against which he directs his lance. In his plays he has sought to reveal his ideals, not only of dramatic construction and realistic art, but also of right living and true morality.

However iconoclastic he may be in other things, in the matter of dramatic construction he has frankly bowed to convention. Clever artist and keen analyst that he is, he has fully realized the necessity of working in the manner of tradition. The conventional agreements of the stage, the customs, tricks and devices of stage-craft he freely accepts. The incidents, plot, construction and technical details of drama he turns to his own ends however, giving them novelty, piquancy and charm by the essentially modern use he makes of them. "I have always cast my plays in the ordinary practical comedy form in use at all the theaters," he says, "and far from taking an unsympathetic view of the popular demand for fun, for fashionable dresses, for a pretty scene or two, a little music, or even for a great ordering of drinks by people with an expressive air from an—if possible—comic waiter, I was more than willing to show that the drama can humanize these things as easily as they, in undramatic hands, can dehumanize the drama." In these matters alone, which after all are merely superficial, does

he bow to convention and confess that he is in reality a very old-fashioned playwright.

But it is in his ideas that he is typical of to-day, an exponent of new-century theories, a child of modernity. He once said that drama can never be the same again since Ibsen has written. Certainly his own dramas can never be the same. With Mr. Shaw, the play of course, but more particularly the play of Ibsen, is the thing. In his view, the drama can never be anything more than the play of ideas. To Ibsen he pays devotion, acknowledges him as his master, and declares that the Scoto-Teutonic-Dane, as well as himself, is greater than Shakespeare. From Ibsen he first took his cue of writing propagandist plays for the sake of lessening and gradually eliminating certain social evils. With a natural passion for reforming the world, he deviated from the Ibsenian ideal in being gifted in the art of social satire, rather than imbued with the sentiment of social pity.

His first play, "Widower's Houses," made him, as he tells us, "infamous as a dramatist." It was the first of the "unpleasant" plays and forced his audience to face social evils requiring serious thought. He stimulated the minds of all who saw the play, and for weeks it was freely discussed on all sides. As Mr. William Archer said not long ago: "Mr. Shaw's typewriter is the pom-pom of the literary battle-field. It is not a weapon of great range or caliber; but for making people sit up it has no equal." During the performance of "Widowers' Houses," everyone "sat up."

This play produced at the Independent Theater in London, in 1892, was followed by two others, "The Philanderer" and "Mrs. Warren's Profession," neither one of which, it seems, has ever seen the foot-lights. The comedy of the one was too subtle for the actors, while the theme of the other was too gross for the palate of the dramatic censor. "Arms and the Man," which depicts the victory of Shaw-esque common-sense over Byronic romanticism, was played both by Drinkwater in

England and Mansfield in America with moderate success. "The Devil's Disciple," which represents the revolt of a frank spirit against a narrow and perverse Puritanism, was put on in England by Forbes Robertson, and in America by Richard Mansfield. In both countries this play was more nearly popular than any other of Mr. Shaw's plays, due no

some three years ago, by Miss Anna Morgan and her theatrical pupils, in Chicago. "Candida" was the past years' offering of the Browning Society, of Philadelphia. Mr. Daly's notable production during the past dramatic season has already been mentioned.

"You Never Can Tell" was written at the request of the Haymarket Theater,



Photo, by Hall, New York.

ARNOLD DALY IN "CANDIDA"—ACT III.

doubt to the fact that it approximates very closely to the conventional modern melodrama, and in theme is more familiar to modern ideas.

"Candida" attracted little notice at its first performance, when it was added to the repertory of the Independent Theater. It was once acted by the Stage Society, and on April 26th, of the present year seven matinée performances, given at the Court Theater, London, were received with delighted interest. If memory serves "Candida" was first presented in America

London, for a "play, in which the much paragraphed 'brilliancy' of 'Arms and the Man' should be tempered by some consideration for the requirements of managers in search of fashionable comedies for West End theaters." But the play was shelved, probably because Mr. Shaw, in iconoclastic vein, failed to fulfil the conditions of the request. It was afterwards produced and met with favorable comment. In America, ten or twelve matinée performances were given in the winter of 1903, at the Studebaker

Theater, in Chicago, by the Hart Conway School of Acting.

"The Man of Destiny" has been played once or twice in England, but so far, it appears, without marked success. It had been performed only once (by the Empire School) in America before Mr. Daly's production last winter. Mr. Shaw's other plays "Captain Brassbound's Conversion," "Cæsar and Cleopatra" and "Man and Superman" have not yet seen the footlights.

So far Mr. Shaw has been introduced to three countries, England, Germany and America. *Drei Dramen von Bernard Shaw: 'Candida'—'Ein Teufelskerl'—'Helden'*, translated by Siegfried Trebitsch, was published (Cotta, Stuttgart and Berlin) in 1903. In the German journal of English philology "*Englische Studien*" for 1903 (33. band, 1. heft) there appeared an article "Bernard Shaw und sein Dolmetsch," by Max Meyerfeld, of Berlin. In this way Mr. Shaw is becoming known to the German reading public, and, according to Mr. John Corbin, the well-known dramatic critic, he is also becoming known in the repertory theaters of Germany.

Mr. Shaw's plays, both as literature and as actable dramas, have been gradually gaining in popularity in America for several years past. A score of critical articles have appeared in the literary and critical magazines of both England and America

in the past year, discussing the plays, personality, career and point-of-view of Bernard Shaw. To some his failings are the uncontrolled use of great power, his excogitated formulæ and socialistic bias, his lack of seriousness, and the excessive and exaggerated brilliancy of his talent. To others his virtues are the modernity of his ideas, his power of divination into the secrets of heart and soul, his amazing cleverness and phenomenal originality. No two estimates agree, for Mr. Shaw has always evaded, even defied the labeling process. The time for such a process is not yet. The German scholar derides him as a colossal charlatan, ascribing to him the unpardonable fault of too often laughing at himself. The English critic writes his name Pshaw! and pricks his weak point with Archer's damning phase "bloodless erotics." The American actor in enthusiastic appreciation, announces that Shaw is greater than Ibsen. It is just possible that Mr. Shaw may go down in dramatic history as "The Dramatist of Donnybrook Fair." Just now it seems rather more probable that George Bernard Shaw, in the words of that most speculative and suggestive of modern English critics, G. K. Chesterton, will some day be recognized as perhaps "the most thoroughly brilliant and typical man of this decade."

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.
Chapel Hill, N. C.

THE PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION: WHY?

BY ARTHUR LLEWELLYN GRIFFITHS, A.B., Yale, 1901,
Founder of the Moro Industrial School System for the Sulu Archipelago, Philippine Islands.

IT WAS with many misgivings that I accepted my appointment to the Educational Department in the Philippines while I was yet a senior in college. My preëstimate of life in the Islands was nearly as bad as subsequent time disclosed and, of the people, worse. With

relation to the people, what my life there revealed to me made me certain that no person who has not actually lived with and among the Filipinos is qualified to speak, or even form mental conclusions, as to, firstly, the attitude of the natives of the Philippines toward the United States;

secondly, the workings of the policy of the United States among the natives of the Philippines; and, thirdly, the actual reason for and meaning of the Filipino insurrection against the government of the United States in the Islands.

Men came to the Philippines at their own expense and at the expense of the government for the sole purpose of studying the Philippine situation from the Filipino standpoint. After being wined and dined at the various officers' clubs in the principal ports of the archipelago, hearing speeches by Filipinos prepared for the occasion, as a minister prepares his sermon to conform to a certain text, they return "knowing the Philippine situation" but, in truth, loaded with hearsay. If the actual inner throbings of the Filipino heart are desired; go to the teacher who, a college graduate, has lived for months in some lone post where weeks pass without a white face, who lives in a Filipino family, eats with them, understands their dialect so as to know their conversation, and enters into their hearts by teaching their children and, often, tending their sick. The man of war knows the side of the Filipino most prominent in war, and, in peace, he knows the side inspired by shoulder-straps and the authority they, even then, stand for; but to the teacher is disclosed the Holy of Holies of the Filipino heart.

The writer was stationed in a town forty miles from the sea among the mountains of northern Luzon. I frequently met citizens of the town thirty years of age, who had never been to the next town, and one man, forty years of age, was found who had never seen the sea, only forty miles away. This is a typical inland condition. Such people, from lack of knowledge of affairs as they are, are the most prone to fanatical opposition to the new, and herein lies the secret of the insurrection's spreading beyond the Tagalog provinces where it originated. The Philippine Insurrection against the United States was a monument to the power of the personal ambition of a few when used

in a country of slow communications and ignorance of the masses. Few stop to think what started it. The desire for independence did not. It is well to remember this, especially in the light of what follows.

The Americans had the so-called assistance of the Filipinos in reducing Manila in August, 1898. When the city fell, the Filipinos were wild with the desire to loot the Spanish capital. The passions of years could now be let loose. In the interests of humanity and peace the Americans said "No." A hostile feeling was at once engendered in the Filipino breasts. The two armies separated, the American occupying the city and the Filipino, facing the American, on the outskirts. An American sentry paced half the Paco bridge, a Filipino sentry the other half. The Filipinos did not know the mettle of the Americans so a Filipino was sent by an officer to test it. He advanced to the middle of the bridge and was halted there. Another tried it with like result. Then a Filipino officer said to himself, "They will not stop me," and advanced to the middle of the bridge where he disobeyed the order to halt. The sentry, in pursuance of his orders valid against a trespasser of any nationality, shot him. The whole Filipino army at once broke out in fire against their former allies and present friends. The insurrection against the United States was that instant born there at Paco bridge.

A remarkable statement is to be made here, but one borne out by facts. It has been the writer's experience, and that experience has been the result of observation throughout the length of the archipelago in native homes, that there is no national feeling in the Philippines, no desire among the masses for independence, as such, and no hatred, except among the educated and ambitious few, of the Americans, when it has not been aroused by men whose business it is to misrepresent and to foment strife. These statements require support. I have asked Filipino friends what governmental independence was and they could not tell

me. I have said there is no national feeling in the Philippines. The Filipinos are Malays with a slight mixture of Chinese blood. The Malays have no national feeling. The English rule them in unbroken harmony. The Chinese have no national feeling. Their very diversity of language is against it. One from Hong Kong cannot understand one from Canton, half-a-day's sail away, and insurrections against their own government are only exceeded by the republics of South America. Why should the combination of the two with the balance much in favor of the tropical, therefore indolent, Malay, possess what neither sire possesses? Do two and two make five? Is it natural that, in a country having known no education for any one, except in the three cities; where it takes a letter one month to travel three hundred miles, even after American occupation; where not five per cent. of the population can read or write and therefore mail service did not exist but for the Spaniards; where travel from any inhabited point for thirty miles in a straight line will frequently bring the traveler into the range of three distinct languages; where fifty per cent. of the inhabitants have never traveled more than thirty miles in a straight line from the barrio in which they were born—is it natural that there should exist that unity of feeling which alone begets patriotism? If so, it has defied obstacles never before defied and hitherto insurmountable, and this, too, in a country where energy in anything is not long possible.

Secondly: There is no desire among the masses for independence. In support of this statement let us ask the question "Why should there be?" Now, among the reasons for a desire for independence are some such as our country can furnish out of its own past history. These are:

1. Tyrannical governors:

The Filipinos have had none since the Americans came.

2. Abridgment of personal liberty:

There has been such an increase in this liberty, and will continue to be, as the

Filipino can hardly grasp the import of, he has been so accustomed to personal subjection.

3. The hackneyed "taxation without representation":

Never in the history of the Philippines has taxation been so reduced. The land-tax is only levied by the village in which the Filipino lives and levied mainly for village expenses which are surprisingly small, so small that the villages frequently cannot afford to pay the salary of \$7.50 a month of the native assistant to the American teacher. The poll-tax is the only one outside of this and this is levied on American residents of the Philippines, as well, while the right of voting is denied them and it is *not* denied to the Filipino. The grand and new educational system is almost entirely supported by the customs-duties of the archipelago. As to representation, the governors of a majority of the islands, with the exception of the Moro group, are Filipinos, the governors of all the Filipino provinces of Luzon are Filipinos and so are the inferior provincial officers under them to a marked degree, two members of the United States Philippine Commission are Filipinos and the islands have in prospect what no other brown people in the world have,—ultimate absolute governmental as well as present individual freedom and the protectorship of the United States of America.

4. High-handedness on the part of the people holding suzerainty:

The iniquity, cruelty and injustice of the erstwhile Spanish government were worse than in Cuba for the reason that they were farther removed from the civilized world and their echoes never reached across the oceans to agitate preventive measures. With the Spaniard the end justified the means. As means to the end in view, subjugation, the Spaniards went to the extremes of making the wearing of shoes, the wearing of the shirt inside the trousers and the speaking of the Spanish language, penal offences. The natives were taught to salute a Spaniard whenever and wherever met. The revolution

in treatment since the Americans came is so great that the Filipino mind, trained to centuries of the reverse, has not yet fully grasped its magnitude or its value.

If, then, it has been successfully demonstrated here that the population of the Philippines has no grievance with America, what is the trouble? The trouble is, as hereinbefore stated, that there is "no hatred, *except among the educated and ambitious few*, of the Americans, when it has not been aroused by men whose business it is to misrepresent, and to foment strife." Two centuries ago a Chinese pirate with a horde of followers, sailed across the narrow China Sea from China and attacked Manila. Then all of the town was within the walls. The Spaniards successfully resisted them with the valuable assistance of said walls. Instead of returning to China, the pirate horde sailed to the north and disembarked on the shores of a river flowing into the Gulf of Lingayen. There they permanently settled and from there spread peaceably over the whole archipelago, the result of which was that in 1898 the United States was confronted with an insurrection, in the Philippines, against its sovereign authority there. Not a leader of prominence in the entire Filipino army nor in the Junta which controlled that army was a pure-blooded Filipino, to the writer's best and carefully accumulated knowledge. The combination of Malay and Chinaman produced a human product seen nowhere else, the crafty ambition of which, when educated, was alone responsible for our recent troubles there. To understand this, the reader must be transported in thought to the islands and, as it were, live among the Filipinos and observe closely. As one result of his observations he will notice that the families of comfortable means in his town have some very ignorant and very servile quasi-retainers. Perhaps he will ask a member of the family what the capacity of the quasi-retainer is and he may receive the reply: "He is my body servant." Yet again he may be more for-

tunate, as was the writer, and get at the truth of the matter by receiving the reply: "He is my slave." Slavery, not of an inferior race, but of the master's fellow-citizens, exists among the Filipinos and in most of the cases the master has Chinese blood in him, with its attendant increase of mental acumen, thereby setting him mentally above his fellows, or the smattering of knowledge obtained at a Spanish religious institution which, in its inadequacy of dissemination, likewise sets its possessor above his fellows, or money, not universally possessed, or all three. The mestizo character, the heretofore holding of education and money by the very few, have enabled the possessors thereof to institute that most insidious form of slavery, where there is no law to prevent,—the slavery of educated mind, with all the machinations possible thereto, over uneducated, with the agency of debt used as means for enthraling. Such men, by reason of their fewness, acquire a prominence only possible in such a society, acquire it with a modicum of wealth, get their fellow-citizens who possess no money into debt to them, demand personal services as the means of canceling the indebtedness, pay them such a small sum for their services that cancelation of the debt is an Herculean task, increase the indebtedness, if there is danger of its payment, and the result is a bond-servant in perpetuity. Such conditions exist all over the Philippines, but their existence is kept *sub rosa* by the very ignorance of the victims. To one who lives among them only is this condition very apparent, a condition akin to that of medieval Europe.

With such a condition of affairs, difficult for a writer to portray in *all* its ramifications, such an offshoot as actually has occurred is not by any means a graft but a natural twig from the parent-stem. And this twig, starting from the trunk of ignorance, bodily servitude and its consequent mental sister, has drawn from it the sap percolating up from the roots which are fed by the autocratic class above mentioned. It has been fed the sap of untruth, for

the sap-givers have been of sufficient intelligence to realize that the coming of the American means the ultimate end of their medieval system, a renaissance brought about by the all-searching rays of justice, but first by those of the progenitor of justice, universal education. And this sap of untruth has taken the form of the statement from the autocratic sap-givers, that the Americans came to make them all slaves in open fact and to exploit them for their own purposes. And this sap has, in actuality, been so assiduously forced through the channels supplying life to the Philippine popular tree that it has been assimilated into the very life of it. This is the true cause of the continuance of the insurrection against the United States. The reason for its start has already been noted. The true instigators of this insurrection never exposed their lives to bullets, but, safe in Hong Kong, gathered together in that body called the Junta, directed its operations by the safe medium of the cable. Long dealings with Spaniards had increased their inborn duplicity and taught them to conduct all hostile operations *sub rosa*. But their less well-informed fellow-citizens, the vic-

tims of their misrepresentations above quoted, were the lambs led to the sacrifice. They were the ones whose lives went out in many a tropical jungle, and all because of a misunderstanding.

The disease has been diagnosed. What is the medicine to cure it? Universal education. Out in the Philippines, suffering hardships in the performance of their duties redounding to their praise, is the small band of teachers doing far more for our country than has ever been accomplished by any other arm extended there. The military arm did a part of the work no other could have done, it crushed the living opposition. But the teachers are the hope of the Philippines. Theirs is the task to take up the work where the rifle has just flashed and to make its flashing again impossible; theirs the task to let in light where light has never been, before which the mists of misunderstanding will fade away never to return. Another reconstruction faces us; a people to be educated to freedom from oppression, to light from darkness. May the task find us faithful.

ARTHUR LLEWELLYN GRIFFITHS.
New Haven, Conn.

HOW THE STAGE CAN HELP THE CHURCH.

BY GERTRUDE ANDREWS.

AN ENTHUSIASTIC promoter of the Church and Stage Alliance spoke some time ago to an audience of theatrical women in New York. He outlined for them the various benefits that were to accrue to the stage through this new association. He said that the church could induce a better class of plays as well as a higher standard of morality among theatrical people. It could also teach these latter a greater reverence for the marriage laws. It could abate the strifes and jealousies in Stageland. In fact, it could do all of those things which it had been doing

for so many hundreds of years for those people who have not come under the ban theatrical.

Then this good and enthusiastic gentleman suddenly remembered that the society, in the interest of which he was speaking, had been termed an Alliance. That supposed a mutual benefit. Also he was speaking to theatrical women. They were interested in the other side of the subject. Courtesy demanded some acknowledgment of some possible help which they might give in return for all these many benefits they were to receive.

The gentleman hesitated and made a mental hunt for something pleasant to say. At last his face lighted up, and he acknowledged, in a generous, kindly way:

"The stage—Why, the stage can teach the pulpit how to make gestures."

The theatrical women smiled, and took it good-naturedly. As a class, they have a sense of humor. But the more thoughtful ones among them saw that the reverend gentleman had, in that inane acknowledgment, laid bare his own pitiable needs. He had, as a representative of the church showed the most deplorably weak point of its pulpit—its ignorance of real life-conditions.

Last Christmas night an actress was invited to assist with the festivities in a certain charity hospital of New York. Her name was on the programme for a recitation.

The exercises were held in what was called "the receiving ward" of the hospital. At one end of this long room a beautiful Christmas-tree had been trimmed by a committee of women. All those patients who were able to be moved were brought in to enjoy this celebration. Most of them were seated on chairs, but some lay on cot-beds. The children were given the place of best view at the front, near to the tree, which they devoured with hungry eyes. One mite of a creature sat up in her small bed and looked through a picture-book. Both her hands were gone—they had been burned away—and she turned the book's leaves with the bandaged stumps.

The actress stood in a nearby hall, and looked through a door at the faces of this audience. Beside her stood the clergyman who was to speak to them. He had taken no notice of her presence, for he knew who she was, and probably disapproved of her profession.

But his silence was a relief to the actress, for her soul was stirred to its depths by the sight of that audience. It seemed as though she never could control herself sufficiently to face them. She read their wretched life-dramas; she felt

their needs; she cringed with their sufferings; she saw the tragic marks of inheritances; and she was overwhelmed with the ghastliness of life's great wastes. Her one desire was to comfort, to cheer, to bring smiles in the place of that hopeless endurance.

Then the clergyman stepped out before them and began to talk. He told them the Christ story. But he might have repeated for them the multiplication table. That great story of love and passion found not one echo in his own nature. In a coldly professional and patronizing way he spoke of that gentle Teacher who said:

"They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick."

And then added the divine counsel:

"Go ye and learn what that meaneth."

Drearly the clergyman wandered on until all there had been of bright anticipation died out of the faces before him. Then he told how thankful they should be that good Christian people had provided this comfortable hospital for them. He laid bare their charitable conditions, and poured the vinegar of patronage upon their hurts. Some yawned. Others dropped their heads on the backs of the seats before them. One or two shrank and covered their eyes. Several men on the cot-beds turned their faces to the wall. A tired wistfulness grew in the eyes of the sick children, and little heads dropped down wearily on the bed-railings.

All this the actress saw from her place in the hall, and every atom in her body cringed under that man's blundering, heartless ignorance. She had faced many an audience, but never had she felt so the responsibility of her art as she did when she finally faced this one. She must break into that oppressive cloud of gloom, and bring to these hearts some ray of hope and joy from the eternal Beautiful.

When she finished her little story, into which she had thrown all her heart, and soul, and knowledge of life, she again met the clergyman in the hall. This time he looked at her, and a certain doubtful interest showed in his eyes. The laughter

and applause of the audience reached them. The men now sat up in their beds. The child who had lost her hands leaned forward and called:

"Oh, come back again, lady."

"It is your business to make people laugh," the clergyman said in tones that did not altogether approve.

"Do n't you think that perhaps it should be your business to do so too?" the actress quietly replied.

The other day I was much impressed by two criticisms of *Parsifal*, written by two different clergymen who have both won wide fame. The one is respected of sinners; the other is ridiculed by them. The one teaches love and beauty and the needs of life; the other preaches wickedness and the horrors of hell. The first felt all the humanity in Wagner's opera under its symbolism, and his soul was stirred by the master's great tonal message; the second, who would not allow himself to see the opera, and who had gained his knowledge through its libretto, denounced it as "pernicious and sacreligious." For him the Kundry element did not symbolize temptation and the triumph of the spirit over the flesh, but was simply a reminder of his own theatrical adventures in the Tenderloin.

"Earth is crammed with heaven,
And every common bush afire with God,
But only he who sees takes off his shoes."

And it has been that great lack of insight—that poverty of life-knowledge—which has been the weakest point in the pulpit, and has kept such a large number of the clergy "above human nature's daily needs."

When Christ advised his disciples "to go ye and learn what that meaneth," He did not intend that they should seek libraries for this knowledge, but they were to go to men. They were to study life on the highways, and not in theolog-

ical seminaries. They were to learn the many conditions that they might be able to cope with humanity's needs, and minister to the afflicted.

It was Tolstoi who defined religion as "a man's highest knowledge of life." No matter what his theology, his religion does not rise above his knowledge of and sympathy with life.

And the drama is the mirror held up to that life—the mirror wherein he can study many of these lessons. The highest motives of the drama and the fundamental principles underlying all religions are identical; for the struggle of both has been towards a broader understanding of life. Neither the stage nor the church has as yet reached its highest ideal of usefulness, but they can be of much mutual helpfulness. They have been so in the past.

Managers shy when the moral value of the theater is suggested. But in spite of their cynicism and their stress of commercialism, the fact remains that the drama's moral import is its very breath, for it reflects that eternal struggle between the powers of good and evil.

The actor's art leads him to a study of life in its shirt-sleeves as well as in its silken gowns or student-caps—life in its ragged, bleeding, harsher aspects; life with all its problems of individual and racial inheritances. Indeed, it is this knowledge which inspires all art, and the artist's greatness is measured by the amount of such knowledge assimilated with love.

And it is by a broadening in this understanding of life that the stage can help the church. Such a broadening develops two things quite indispensable to a teacher of men. Those two things are sympathy and a sense of humor. With the combined efforts of a great sympathy and a sense of humor almost any good can be accomplished.

GERTRUDE ANDREWS.
New York City.

AN OPEN LETTER TO PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS.

BY GEORGE WESTCOTT.

MY DEAR Professor Frank Parsons: As "Open Letters" seem to be much in vogue, and as you have written one to President Roosevelt, which was duly published to the world, and with which I was much pleased, I trust that you will pardon me for addressing this one to you, though written without any expectation of its being so published.

I will premise by saying that I have always been an ardent admirer of yours, and of your writings, particularly those upon political and other reforms, and the best prayer that I could utter for my country, has been that we might have more men like you, but your late article in THE ARENA, "Why I Prefer Theodore Roosevelt to Alton B. Parker" perplexes me. In a previous article in the August number of the same publication, "An Open Letter to President Roosevelt," you show that gentleman up in no very enviable light, in that he has violated nearly all of the commands of the Decalogue, in which, it is my private opinion, you were eminently right:

1. According to that article, and the real facts in the case, he is a staunch friend of a thief and knave, and has the brazen effrontery to openly boast of it in a public speech.

2. You mention the fact of his becoming *particeps criminis* after the fact, with the notorious "Doc" Jamison of Chicago, by appointing him to a position of great public trust, against the remonstrance of the respectable people of that great city, who distinctly pointed out to him the criminality of his appointee.

3. You show how he has broken faith with the people and violated all his previous pledges as to Civil-Service Reform by becoming an upholder of the spoils-system and a sustainer of the "machines" and all kinds of political rottenness.

4. You show how he has violated his solemn oath of office and the Constitution of his country by his infringement of the Executive upon the Legislative branches of the Government in the issuance of his celebrated pension order; all of the above high crimes being done with an evidently corrupt motive, viz, to purchase votes that he may be retained in the high office that he now holds.

5. You show him to be a taker of bribes that, so far as magnitude is concerned, throws the notorious "Doc" Ames of Minneapolis completely in the shade, in that he accepted from the railroad companies of the United States "the enormous favor of a continental trip," when it is a notorious fact that such companies do not grant such favors without an "adequate consideration" either past, present or future. Such conduct, if indulged by members of the Legislatures of some of our states would land the recipients behind prison bars.

6. You show how he upholds the corrupt political machine in Wisconsin and looks with complacency upon the Colorado horror, and how striving to fool the people with his pretended prosecution of the "trusts" he is strenuously striving "how not to do it" and other shortcomings *ad libitum, ad nauseam*.

And yet, notwithstanding all these shortcomings in the present accidental incumbent of the high office of President of the United States, you have reasons why you prefer him to Alton B. Parker! Your contribution to the symposium in the October ARENA came to me as a clap of thunder out of a clear sky. There yet remain several weeks before election, would it not be well for you to reconsider your resolution and if you cannot vote for Judge Parker, cast your ballot for Thomas E. Watson? He, permitting me to ex-

press an opinion, is much more in accord with the opinions that you have heretofore expressed than Mr. Roosevelt is. As for myself, I was not an original Parker man, but shall vote for him only as the most available candidate. If there was any chance of electing him, I should much prefer seeing Watson elected and would gladly vote for him. A vote for him would simply mean a vote for Roosevelt.

The first thing and most practical thing to do in the interests of reform, is to get possession of the Government. The only hope of doing this, in my estimation, is

through Parker. True, he might prove no better than Roosevelt, but he could not be worse, and the probabilities are that he would be better.

I write this letter in a spirit of kindness, hoping that I may be instrumental in convincing you that you have made a mistake in coming to the conclusion that you have. If I am successful in this, I hope that you will do what you can, and what seems just and proper to counteract the effect of your late article.

Ely, Minn.

GEO. WESTCOTT.

"BACCHUS": ONE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT POEMS.

BY CHARLES MALLOY,
President of the Boston Emerson Society.

"Bring me wine, but wine which never grew
In the belly of the grape,
Or grew on vine whose tap-roots, reaching
through
Under the Andes to the Cape,
Suffer no savor of the earth to scape."

BACCHUS is used in this poem for the vine, for grapes, for wine, the juice of grapes, and for the effects of wine. Bacchus, again, meaning this collection of physical phenomena, is made the symbol of inspiration, or an experience entirely spiritual or mental. This seems to be its meaning in the poem. So Bacchus is invoked by a poet for what, by an old name, is called the muse, in the interest of poets' productions. The extent or amplitude of this inspiration is well expressed by what Emerson would call "wild hyperbole," given in the lines we have quoted.

"Under the Andes to the Capes,"—

Cape Horn, of course, would be indefinite, depending upon where on the Andes you begin, but it would be several hund-

reds of miles, at the least. We waive the bad geography which would locate Styx and Erebus in South America. As they never had any existence in the real world, it does not matter where we put them, and accuracy here is not essential to the force of the figure. The poet would ask, by these terms, an inspiration vast and unbounded.

The prayer goes on to say:

"Let its grapes the morn salute
From a nocturnal root,
Which feels the acrid juice
Of Styx and Erebus;
And turns the woe of Night,
By its own craft, to a more rich delight."

Emerson has given us in many places fine figures for amplitude and extension, as: "Apollo once challenged Zeus to a match in the use of the bow. Apollo, by lot, won the first chance. He shot his arrow from the East to the West. But Zeus by one step strode from the East to the West and said: 'Where shall I shoot? There is no space left.'"

The Sphinx says:

"To vision profounder,
Man's spirit must dive;
His aye-rolling orb
At no goal will arrive."

A verse in *Merlin* may be added:

"He the poet shall not seek to weave
In weak, unhappy times,
Efficacious rhymes;
Wait his returning strength.
Bird that from the nadir's floor
To the zenith's top can soar,—
The soaring orbit of the muse exceeds that
journey's length."

"On the brink of the waters of life and truth we are miserably dying. The inaccessibleness of every thought, but that we are in, is wonderful. What if you come near to it? You are as remote when you are nearest as when you are farthest."

"Suffer no savor of the earth to scape."

The preceding four lines in the quotation with which we begin afford a symbol for vast extent and amplitude, and this fifth line for variety in the resources of the poet. The grapes, and hence the wine, shall not suffer for want of any element. Give it the ground, the air and the sun.

"Let its grapes the morn salute
From a nocturnal root,
Which feels the acrid juice
Of Styx and Erebus."

We ask of the poet of to-day that he shall have drawn largely from books, from work, from life, in the form of a deep and rich experience. He shall know sorrow, pain, loss, disappointment. These phases of his life may be subsumed under the metaphors of Styx and Erebus, dark, gloomy under-worlds in the old religions. But the grand result is not to be made of sorrow and pain alone, although some mistaken teachings in the past have led to that. All normal pleasures were called the "flesh"—something vile and to be rejected.

Emerson in his famous lecture on *The American Scholar*, in 1837, had given a very beautiful expression to this thought.

Let both joy and sorrow come into the wine.

"Let its grapes the morn salute
From a nocturnal root,"

may well stand for both joy and sorrow. The intellect can use all things in its fermentation by a "craft" which will take care of itself and by "spiritual laws," independently of our wills. "Behind us as we go all things assume pleasing forms." "The soul will not know either deformity or pain." The acrid juice was needed, as we learn at last.

"Taught to mould the living vase,
What matter the cracked pitchers,
Dead and gone?"

Says Browning:

"We buy ashes for bread;
We buy diluted wine;
Give me of the true,—
Whose ample leaves and tendrils curled
Among the silver hills of heaven
Draw everlasting dew."

We go round and round in a thousand circles, and do not seem to grow in magnitudes that are worth anything. Why is the vintage, the fermentation, so slow? Why such endless indirection? Why, but that the result is good at every point? Nature prizes things growing and grown alike, and even decay is good. The laws are always obeyed.

Pause a moment and consider the beauty of this figure, "the silver hills of heaven," in contrast with "Styx and Erebus"; and both are in the wine at last!

"We buy ashes for bread;
We buy diluted wine;
Give me of the true."

What is the *true*? A poet in an Eastern land called it "water." "Whosoever

drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life."

Do not these two poets agree? One calls it "everlasting dew"; one, "water" that never fails, but transmutes itself into "everlasting life."

"So forth and brighter fares my stream,—
Who drinks it shall not thirst again;
No darkness stains its equal gleam,
And ages drop in it like rain."

Do not the wine in "Bacchus," the water in the "well" and the water in the "Two Rivers" mean the same thing? And what is that same thing? Evidently something finer, purer, sweeter in what for want of another name, we may call the life of the soul. How much is "ashes for bread," how much is "diluted wine" as it falls down before these superior tests?

"Whose ample leaves and tendrils curled
Among the silver hills of heaven
Draw everlasting dew."

What could be better than these beautiful emblems to express the enduring virtues and transcendent excellence of the Celestial Bacchus, which, let it be remembered, is an intellectual and not a physical reality.

"Wine of wine,
Blood of the world,
Form of forms, and mould of statues."

These are only intensives of the terms already used for Bacchus.

"That I intoxicated,
And by the draught assimilated,
May float at pleasure through all natures;
The bird-language rightly spell,
And that which roses say so well."

One of the highest achievements in art is dramatic assimilation, to become, as it were, the thing you would portray; in

form, in tone, in character, in all the modifications of consciousness, so far as imagination will carry one to this rare facility. A man with such endowment is already half an artist. He may thus "float at pleasure through all natures."

"The bird-language rightly spell,
And that which roses say so well."

Emerson says the rose speaks all languages. The pine-tree in the same way is pentecostal. These things make the same impression on all, no matter what their language. The poet hears this universal language. The sky, the ocean, the winds, the mountains, the woods, thus speak all languages. Emerson has a beautiful little poem about the language of a bird, which was very plain to him. This poem is called "The Miracle."

"Wine that is shed
Like the torrents of the sun
Up the horizon walls,
Or like the Atlantic streams, which run
Where the South Sea calls."

This needs no explication. It expresses abundance.

"Water and bread,
Food which needs no transmuting,
Rainbow-flowering, wisdom-fruiting,
Wine which is already man,
Food which teach and reason can."

This wine is really a mental fact, a form of consciousness. "Rainbow-flowering" expresses beauty; "wisdom-fruiting," of course, thought or truth. Water, bread and wine are used as meaning the same—the same in their second or emblematic meanings.

"Wine which Music is,—
Music and wine are one."

This is one of Emerson's mystic sayings.

"Wine which Music is,—
Music and wine are one."

Of course this strange language is not literal. Music and wine are common symbols for some third reality of which they are alike representative. What is that common ground? Music and wine are appeals, as physical excitants, to two separate senses; and the phenomena, as such, are entirely disparate and inconvertible. They cannot by any analysis be made one. We must raise their meanings—carry them up into poetical correlatives before we can think of them as identical. In their first level and estate they will not coalesce or unite. What third term will give them a common ground? We may find a hint, perhaps, in some lines in another poem, "The Problem":

"I like a church; I like a cowl;
I love a prophet of the soul;
And on my heart monastic aisles
Fall like sweet strains, or pensive smiles."

"Monastic aisles" and "pensive smiles" are optical phenomena, and as such fall on the eye. "Sweet strains" are acoustic phenomena and fall on the ear. These two orders of sensation are disparate and inconvertible. There can be no union or identity between them, but they become one and alike when they "fall on the heart." Then they lose their uncompromising individuality in a common term. They translate themselves into emotions, for that is to "fall on the heart." As sensations they could not unite, but in emotion, which lies farther along in a spiritual process, they expire as sensations and are raised into a higher world. What common ground shall identify music and wine? As sensations they are not one or alike.

This poetical identification uses only a little of two contrasted concepts or predicates between which analogy seems to subsist. All metaphor is generalization, the law being a discrimination and emphasis of their correlated predicates.

"Wine" does not mean wine, and "music" does not mean music in any literal signification. We are in second

meanings, raised meanings, by what Emerson calls metamorphosis. The meanings have gone up to higher meanings, as in all metaphor.

"Water and bread,
Food which needs no transmuting,
Rainbow-flowering, wisdom-fruiting,
Wine which is already man;
Food which teach and reason can."

"Water" and "bread" and "wine" are words very different in their common and literal meaning; but it is worth our notice that in the above lines these three words are used for one and the same thing,—namely, a certain spiritual excellence or perfection, expressed more explicitly by the words wisdom, virtue, truth, righteousness, sanctification, and that great symbol—the "kingdom of heaven" within the soul, which is the end of all good inspiration. This is the final object of the prayer, "Bring me wine."

Emerson has the following thoughts in his "Essay on the Poet":

"The quality of the imagination is to flow and not to freeze. The poet did not stop at the color or the form, but read their meaning; neither may he rest in *this* meaning, but he makes the *same objects* exponents of his *new thought*."

"Wine which Music is,—
Music and wine are one."

These mystic lines have been prominent among the insoluble sphinxes in Emerson's poems. They appear to be hung up in the air in the apprehension of most readers and do not render a satisfactory rationale or foundation in logic. If the present attempt seems to go far off for its argument it may be received as an experiment only. Symbols are symbols "to whom they are significant." The poet may have had a conception in his mind of which these symbols, wine and music, are equally significant. Perhaps Browning can help us a little in the present emer-

gency. We quote a few lines from "Abt Vogler":

"All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of
good shall exist;
Not its semblance, but itself; no beauty,
not good, nor power
Whose voice has gone forth, but each sur-
vives for the melodist
When eternity affirms the conception of
an hour.
The high that proved too high, the heroic for
earth too hard,
The passion that left the ground to lose
itself in the sky,
Are music sent up to God by the lover and
the bard;
Enough that he heard it once: We shall
hear it by-and-by."

In my first reading of these well-known lines I said, Why a discrimination in favor of the "melodist"? Why is the "melodist" made prominent above another who fills his particular place in life, does his own work well, however low and ignoble in the eyes of men? This was not Browning's sentiment,—"All service is alike to God," I remembered. Then I said, "melodist" is a metaphor and is not to be taken in a strict and literal sense; but in view of its obvious analogies it is a symbol of application to all men who do their part well in the world. It applies to the artisan as well as to the artist; to a humble laborer as well as to a lord. And lo! the next lines supported this diagnosis and made explicit what was before implied.

"The high that proved too high, the heroic for
earth too hard,
The passion that left the ground to lose
itself in the sky,
Are music sent up to God."

To know the music is to know the melodist; and we see that it is not the technical and real melodist, but the subject of great actions and virtues implied in the predicates which make the music. Passages in a noble life, spending itself in aspirations and labors beyond its strength, and failing at last, are named and honored by this sig-

nificant symbol, meaning so much that is grand and beautiful. Do we not see something in such a life suggesting the long vine, traversing Styx and Erebus and curling its leaves among the "silver hills of heaven"? Browning calls it music; Emerson calls it wine. They mean the story of a heroic life, going down in sorrow and apparent defeat. Such a life often succeeds in that it seems to fail. But the conclusion to which we would ask attention is that this in Browning is given in the symbol of music, and in Emerson in the symbol of wine. It is remarkable that Browning in the poem, "Jochanan Hakkadosh," written many years after "Abt Vogler," gives us the spectacle of a great and good life filled with trial and disappointment and ending in failure, and he designates the resultant by Emerson's word,—namely, *wine*. With such phenomena in mind can we not say, "Music and wine are one"? We thus raise the words above their literal meanings and their difference. In this way we illustrate in diverse things a poetical identity.

"The highest minds of the world have never ceased to explore the double meaning, or shall I say the quadruple or the centuple or much more manifold meaning of every sensuous fact: Orpheus, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Plato, Plutarch, Dante, Swedenborg, and the masters of sculpture, picture, and poetry." Thus says Emerson in the "Essay on the Poet."

"Wine which music is,—
Music and wine are one,—
That I, drinking this,
Shall hear far Chaos talk with me."

Emerson, says William T. Harris, is the first poet to sing the great concepts of science. This poem, "Bacchus," was written sixty years ago. Geology had recently given in its amazing testimony in regard to the history of our earth, and good minds had grasped the concept of evolution. It was the most prominent and promising of the new generalizations

now engaging the minds of students. Emerson was prepared for this new concept by a metaphysical prepossession in the doctrine of unity or identity. All things, he says, are made of one stuff. He would invoke inspiration for the problems of this new philosophy. He already saw that it must be true. "Things are so strictly related that, according to the skill of the eye, from any one object the parts and properties of any other may be predicted." This guiding identity runs through all the surprises and contrasts of the piece and characterizes every law. Man carries the world in his head, the whole astronomy and chemistry suspended in a thought. Because the history of nature is characterized in his brain, therefore is he the prophet and discoverer of her secrets. Every known fact in natural science was divined by the presentiment of somebody before it was actually verified." "The common-sense of Franklin, Dalton, Davy and Black is the same common-sense which made the arrangements which now it discovers."

"Geology has initiated us into the secularity of nature, and taught us to disuse our dame-school measures and exchange our Mosaic and Ptolemaic schemes for her large style. We knew nothing rightly for want of perspective. Now we learn what patient periods must round themselves before the rock is formed; then before the rock is broken and the first lichen race has disintegrated the thinnest external plate into soil, and opened the door for the remote Flora, Fauna, Ceres and Pomona to come in. How far off yet is the trilobite, how far the quadruped! How inconceivably remote is man! All duly arrive, and then race after race of men. It is a long way from granite to the oyster; farther yet to Plato and the preaching of the immortality of the soul. Yet all must come, as surely as the first atom has two sides."

All men but a very few were shocked at these words when first published in 1844, and thought them blank atheism. But "far Chaos" had hinted its great story,

had talked to a few lovers and devout listeners, and Emerson was one. Now he asks the "wine which music is" that he, "drinking this, shall hear far Choas talk" with him in still larger measure.

"Kings unborn shall walk with me."

A book, written by Lord Brougham, was published about the same time with this poem "Bacchus," called "Fossil Osteology," in which the author, observing the progress and ascension which appeared in the forms of life in successive strata, ventured the postulate of a still farther progress and ascension, until we had a being superior even to man, by natural evolution. Did Emerson at the time have a poetical interest in this doctrine and look forward, this being his hope for "kings unborn"? Browning seems to have shared in such a prospect. In "Abt Vogler" his "structure brave," builded of music, transparent as glass, gave him the vision of "presences plain in the place." These presences were of two classes:

" Or, fresh from the Protoplasm,
Furnished for ages to come, when a kindlier
wind should blow,
Lured now to begin and live, in a house to their
liking at last;
Or else the wonderful dead who have passed
through the body and gone,
But were back once more to breathe in an old
world worth their new."

Were these "presences fresh from the Protoplasm, furnished for ages to come" the same as in Emerson's vision which he calls "kings unborn"? At any rate this poet in his passion would drink a wine which should give him the concealed things of the far-off past and the far-off future as well.

"And the poor grass shall plot and plan
What it will do when it is man."

In these lines is given another possibility of this far-off future, which must pass for "wild hyperbole." The best we can do

with the extravagant conception is to say that, by synecdoche, the "poor grass" may represent the vegetable phase of nature, and as such aspires to the animal forms above it. How that wonderful passage is made we may well ask a celestial Bacchus for revelation.

"Kings unborn may walk with me."

I omitted to give a thought at the proper place in reference to these "kings unborn." The transcendentalists were fond of quoting a line from the old poet, Daniel:

"Unless above himself he can erect himself,
How poor a thing is man."

This depreciation of man is, perhaps, allowed only by man. All the other animals respect him. The "kings unborn"—are they wrapt up potentially in the family and only wait till the favoring winds shall blow, to use the beautiful simile of Browning? Or do they wait for a new race for which the protoplast does not now exist? Speaking with Professor John Fiske of Brougham's book and its theory, he said he had heard of the book but had not read it. As to the theory, he thought we did not need it. Man was on the way to be his own "king unborn." And this was a vaticination of Emerson's even. He says in the "Essay on History":

"There is one mind common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and all of the same. He that is once admitted to the right of reason is made a freeman of the whole estate. What Plato has thought he may think; what a saint has felt he may feel; what at any time has befallen any man he can understand. Who hath access to this universal mind is a party to all that is or can be done, for this is the only and sovereign agent. Thus man, by the right of reason, is made heir of all the great and shining possibilities now hinted and predicted in the ideals of the present time.

They are his already by construction, because he aspires and loves toward them, as

"A subtle chain of countless rings
The next unto the farthest brings;
The eye reads omens where it goes,
And speaks all languages the rose;
And, striving to be man, the worm
Mounts through all the spires of form."

Man helps out his limitations by reason. He supplements his feeble powers by wit and art. His eye reaches but a little way into the deeps of space, but with the telescope which he has made he sees stars the light of which is ten thousand years in coming to us. He has not the strength of the horse, the ox, the elephant, but he easily subdues these creatures and makes them his servants. Science gives him more and more a command of all the elements. Even the lightnings of heaven have become his docile agents and yield him unlimited mechanical power. He is fast becoming a "king unborn." The favoring winds are blowing even now. What is this reason but the "Bacchus," the "wine," the "music" of this poem?

"Quickened so, will I unlock
Every crypt of every rock."

In the preceding seven lines we have evolution. In these two we have geology. At the inspiration of this new muse, this Bacchus, this grand awakening of the intellect, the crypts of the rocks have been opened, and how many truths, problematic when this poem was written, are now well established!

"I thank the joyful juice
For all I know;—
Winds of remembering
Of the ancient being blow,
And seeming-solid walls of use
Open and flow."

It is the function of the intellect to know. That seems to be the whole duty and business of the mind, acting under this name. It may be said, in familiar

terms, that this "wine" runs the intellect. The mental forces and activities which bring us knowledge are classified in the poem under this equivalent, wine, or the "joyful juice."

"I thank the joyful juice
For all I know,"

says the song at this place. One great and indispensable instrument in the service of the intellect is memory. How little we should know without it.

"Winds of remembering
Of the ancient being blow."

This is metaphor for memory, and the import of the line as a whole is in other respects almost the same as

" I, drinking this,
Shall hear far Chaos talk with me."

" Beware when the great God lets loose a thinker on this planet. Then all things are at risk. How solid seem the walls of use, of custom. We have settled ways in every department of life—in art, in religion, in government, in industrial and commercial methods. How they melt and yield in the 'wine' of new thought. The 'old bottles burst,' after the metaphor of another. "There is not a piece of science but its flank may be turned to-morrow; there is not any literary reputation, not the so-called eternal names of fame, that may not be revised and condemned. The very hopes of man, the thoughts of his heart, the religion of nations, the manners and morals of mankind, are all at the mercy of a new generalization. Generalization is always a new influx of the Divinity into the mind. Hence the thrill that attends it."

" Valor consists in the power of self-recovery, so that a man cannot have his flank turned, cannot be out-generalized, but, put him where you will, he stands. This can only be by his preferring truth to his past apprehension of truth, and his alert acceptance of it from whatever quar-

ter; the intrepid conviction that his laws, his relations to society, his Christianity, his world, may at any time be superseded and decease."

Thus at the "quicken" power of the "joyful juice"—the influx of a new generalization, the

" . . . Seeming-solid walls of use
Open and flow."

Then:

"Pour, Bacchus! the remembering wine."

Again comes a prayer:

"Retrieve the loss of me and mine!"

What vast accumulations from study, reading and our varied experiences are lost through the failure of memory to hold them fast. There is much evidence, from instances of an abnormal "quicken," as in imminent death, that the memory has kept all the treasures committed to it, but the phase called recollection does not render them upon call. So the prayer is pertinent:

"Pour, Bacchus! the remembering wine;
Retrieve the loss of me and mine!
Vine for vine be antidote."

This is paradox. Paradox is a deceitful creature. It is often a lie in form or on the face of it, but a truth if we look farther in. The deception in the present case consists in the same word used for two different ideas, namely, the word "vine." The law underlying the substitution of "vine" for "wine" we have considered as simply a change of symbols. This use of the same word for two ideas is a plain instance of what Emerson calls metamorphosis. In its first use the word has its second meaning and is an intellectual reality. In its second use it has its literal meaning, as material wine, in which form, as in drunkenness, it often does much harm. By a paraphrase we should

then say: This spiritual or intellectual wine is an "antidote" for the mischief of material wine. The thought is illustrated by the old story of Jason and Orpheus. Jason to save his sailors from the vicious and seductive music of the sirens filled their ears with wax, so that they could not hear; but Orpheus saved them by the wise device of making a better music. Our temperance people do not know what a good argument lies in this line. Jason would save from the evil of a sense by suspending it or killing it for a time. This was the mistake of the doctrine which taught the mortification of the body and led to the wretched lives of the anchorites in their caves. Keep the senses, says the better thought, but give them proper objects. This was the better wisdom of Orpheus. "Vine for vine be antidote," not mortification. Browning is with Emerson in this:

"Let us not always say
 'Spite of this flesh to-day
 I strove, made head, gained ground upon the
 whole!'
 As the bird wings and sings,
 Let us cry 'All good things
 Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now,
 than flesh helps soul!'"

"And the grape requite the lote."

Grape, vine and wine, according to what we have already said upon symbols, or poetical identity, are all names for spiritual effects. The sentiment of this is almost the same as that of the line which precedes it. This wine is a corrective; a good neutralizing bad; a power which makes for righteousness. It is the Holy Spirit of another cultus, another terminology. The terms differ, the reality is the same. The Over-Soul is only still another name; the Absolute, the Infinite and God, still others. This song is a divine song. Its soul and essence are religious and might form part of a new ritual and be chanted by worshipers. As the vine quickens and arouses, so the lote numbs and stupefies the soul. The vine, the

grape, requites or compensates for the lote. It thus "saves the soul."

"Haste to cure the old despair."

Men had long thought there was no cure, or that the remedy could not come as the infection had come, from the bosom of the Great Mother. Nature had given the evil, but could not cure it. The cure must come from "above." But the world was sufficient for the wants of the world. Its ready pharmacopœia was sufficient for all diseases. The injury and the specific grow side by side, and need not be imported from an extramundane sphere.

"Reason in Nature's lotus drenched."

When we come to the perception of a great and far-reaching truth, making a hundred things plain and with a new significance, we may well say that in all our lives, before this conversion, we were "drenched in lotus." Where do we find ourselves? Says Emerson in the "Essay on Experience":

"In a series of which we do not know the extremes, and believe it has none. We wake and find ourselves on a stair; there are stairs below us which we seem to have ascended; there are stairs above us, many a one, which go upward and out of sight. But the genius which, according to the old belief, stands at the door by which we enter, and gives us the lethe to drink, that we may tell no tales, mixed the cup too strongly, and we cannot shake off the lethargy now at noon-day. Sleep lingers all our life-time about our eyes, as night hovers all day in the boughs of the fir-tree. All things swim and glitter. Our life is not so much threatened as our perception. Ghost-like we glide through nature and should not know our place again. Did our birth fall in some fit of indigence and of frugality of nature, that she was so sparing of her fire and so liberal of her earth that it appears to us that we lack the af-

firmative principle, and though we have health and reason, yet we have no superfluity of spirit for new creation. We have enough to live and bring the year about, but not an ounce to invest or impart. Ah, that our Genius were a little more of a genius! We are like millers on the lower levels of a stream, when the factories above them have exhausted the water. We, too, fancy that the upper people must have raised their dams."

"An innavigable sea washes with silent waves between us and the objects we aim at and converse with."

"Reason in Nature's lotus drenched,
The memory of ages quenched,"

gives us again the loss sustained by failing memory in addition to the lulled senses by the way.

"Give them again to shine,"

is the prayer to Bacchus.

"Let wine repair what this undid;
And where the infection slid,
A dazzling memory revive;
Refresh the faded tints,
Recut the aged prints."

A printed cloth is sometimes called a print. It is apt to fade. It is very desirable to have "fast colors." These prints

were called calicoes, because first imported from Calicut in the East Indies. The plate, cut or engraved for making the impression, was also called a print. It grew indistinct from long use and must be "recut." The art of printing muslins was begun in America about the year 1825. A great deal of trouble was found at first in getting "fast" colors, and the calicoes brought from England stood higher in the stores. They were called "English prints." The cheaper goods would fade. The above imagery might easily have come from familiar domestic observations. Emerson finds in them symbols, by good analogy, for facts in psychology or the history of the soul. So Bacchus is invoked to

"Refresh the faded tints,
Recut the aged prints,
And write my old adventures with the pen
Which on the first day drew,
Upon the tablets blue,
The dancing Pleiads and eternal men."

This was a great, a last prayer to the Celestial Bacchus. Give me plenary inspiration, give me to write verse that shall last throughout the ages. Give me the pen which on the tablets above drew the eternal constellations.

CHARLES MALLOY.

Waltham, Mass.

SAINT-SIMON: THE FIRST AMERICAN.

BY HERBERT N. CASSON.

THE first American was a Frenchman. His name was Saint-Simon.

He fought through five campaigns of the Revolutionary war, and was present when Lord Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown.

Lafayette and he were comrades.

His bravery on the field was so conspicuous that he received decorations from both the American and the French Governments.

Yet when the war ended he was but twenty-one,—three years younger than Lafayette.

He was the first American because he was the only one among those who fought for the Republic who understood what it meant.

His mind was the only one that comprehended the idea of America.

George Washington fought for colonial rights.

Lafayette fought for a political Republic.

Saint-Simon fought for a political and industrial Democracy.

The thirteen little colonies said: "It is finished"; but Saint-Simon said: "It is begun."

He alone among his contemporaries knew that the Revolutionary war had done no more than plant the seed of America, and that centuries would be required for growth and fruitage.

He was the spokesman of Social Evolution. His generation was at least three hundred years behind him; and he towered above the statesmen of his time as Gulliver among the Lilliputians.

The story of his life is so wonderful that biographers have passed it by with incredulity.

No individual ever outlined a larger scope of activity or packed more varied experiences into a lifetime.

Saint-Simon was born at Paris in 1760. His father was Count de Saint-Simon, a descendant of Charlemange.

At the age of thirteen he declared himself an unbeliever in Romanism and refused to go to communion.

His father sent him to prison as a punishment, but could not frighten him back to orthodoxy.

Several years afterwards his father died and he succeeded to the title and estate.

At once he set sail for America, to fight in the Revolutionary war; remained until its close in 1781; and then returned to aid the Revolutionists in his own country.

He was on board the "Ville de Paris" when it was captured by Rodney, the English Admiral; and was struck, and nearly killed, by a ball from the English guns.

The sailors were on the point of throwing him overboard when he regained consciousness.

Although he had been made a colonel, he at once, on returning to France, severed his connection with the army and became a scientist and social reformer.

In 1789 he renounced his title, saying:

"I regard the title of Count as inferior to that of citizen."

He became the president of the local commune, but refused the office of Maire, as he did not wish his social standing to influence the choice of the electors.

It was his aim to instruct the people who had been his tenants and to this end he delivered lectures on democracy in the parish church.

In partnership with a capitalist, he bought a great tract of land, intending to start a model industrial community like that afterwards organized by Godin at Guise, and by Robert Owen at New Lanark.

But the capitalist was incapable of appreciating Saint-Simon's ideas, and bought him out for \$28,800,—much less than his share was worth.

At this time Robespierre became jealous of Saint-Simon's growing fame and had him confined in prison for eleven months.

On his release, he went immediately to Paris and devoted himself to the study of social questions.

In pursuit of knowledge, he visited the salons of the nobility, and the lowest dives in the slums; he conversed with D'Alembert and Rousseau, and with the garbage-gatherers and prostitutes and scrub-women.

He became the personal friend of individuals in every social and intellectual grade, from the street-beggars to Napoleon.

No man, before or since, has had as thorough a personal knowledge of city and country, poor and rich, ignorant and learned, as had Saint-Simon.

And his knowledge was not accumulated for curiosity or amusement, but in accordance with a definite life-purpose.

He was the first to recognize the truth, that he who would abolish social evils must above all things know the people who are to be affected.

Such was his generosity to the poor and to needy scientists, that in a few years he was without a franc.

The friends whom he had helped were ungrateful and for six months he was obliged to work nine hours a day, copying papers in a pawn-shop, for four dollars a week.

He was then discovered by his former valet, who had become well-to-do, and for a number of years lived with his old servant in comparative comfort.

When his ex-valet died, he was again made homeless and was bitterly harassed by poverty through the remainder of his life.

At one time the pangs of starvation goaded him to attempt self-destruction.

After calmly writing a last review of his books and pamphlets, he shot himself in the temple, and was discovered by Comte sitting on his cot and noting his symptoms with scientific interest and composure.

"I am interested to know how long a man can live with seven slugs in his brain," said he to Comte.

The best medical skill was secured for him by his penitent friends, and he slowly recovered, though losing the sight of one of his eyes.

For several years longer he continued to teach and attract to him the cleverest men in France.

Then, in 1825, surrounded by his friends, who almost regarded him as a god, he died.

Even to the moment of the last gasp for breath he continued to counsel his disciples and to repeat his confidence in his own ideas.

"The Party of Laborers will soon be formed; the future is ours," were his last words.

When his friends buried him at Père la Chaise, there stood around his grave the thinkers of Paris,—Comte, the philosopher; Laurent, the litterateur; Barrault, the dramatist; Hippolyte Carnot, the biographer; Fournel, the engineer; Bazard, the politician; Thierry, the historian; Lesseps, the canal-builder; and Chevalier, the "Cobden of France."

In the minds of these men, and others, Saint-Simon implanted ideas that have

since developed and become externalized into the most beneficent social reforms.

More than this, he suggested ideas which were so new and comprehensive that neither his generation nor the present one has thought it possible to embody them in the social order.

Saint-Simon was a pioneer of the twentieth century.

He was like an eighteen-year-old youth placed by mistake in the kindergarten.

The great, new ideas which he taught may be divided into three classes,—those that are partly in operation; those that are partly understood; and those that are neither in operation nor understood.

We shall review them in the order in which they have become comprehensible to the public mind.

First, those that are partly in operation:

1. The utility of canals.

When a very young man, Saint-Simon advocated the digging of the Panama and Suez canals, also a canal from Madrid to the sea-coast.

DeLesseps, who afterwards finished the Suez canal in 1869, was a Saint-Simonian.

The usefulness of a canal was first appreciated in America, and Saint-Simon lived long enough to hear of the completion of the Erie canal in 1825.

2. Free-Trade.

During Saint-Simon's lifetime, free-trade was regarded as his and Voltaire's foolish and visionary project; but in 1841 Sir Robert Peel transformed it into the most successful English fact.

3. Scientific History.

Saint-Simon was ridiculed by all contemporary historians because he maintained that history should chronicle tendencies, not events; and social influences, not the quarrels and escapades of monarchs.

He said it should cease to be romance and become science.

And in 1857 Buckle wrote his *History of Civilization in England*, transforming at once all other histories into novels and scrap-books.

4. Evolution.

Saint-Simon proved from history that a nation grows like an individual.

He also showed that man's superiority over the lower animals was not a result of any Deity's foreordination, but a natural result of the physical and mental powers of man.

He taught that if some catastrophe swept all mankind from the earth, the beaver would move up and take man's place.

Thus, Saint-Simon was the first modern European to suggest "the survival of the fittest," proclaiming the idea more than forty years before it was established by Darwin and Wallace.

5. Equality of Women.

While the brutally-masculine Napoleonic Code was being compiled, Saint-Simon was teaching the political, industrial and intellectual equality of woman.

So thoroughly did he carry out this belief that he maintained that if there were a God, even He must be androgynous.

This belief in the equal rights of women was scouted by all nations during his lifetime, and the first step towards educational equality was not taken until a year after his death, when a high-school for girls was opened in Boston.

Complete political equality remained a dream until Wyoming granted women full suffrage in 1869.

To-day, as a theory, the equality of women is generally admitted not only in America but among the rationalists of all countries; and where repression yet remains, it is defended upon the ground of expediency, not justice.

6. Organized Industry.

"My purpose is to impress upon the nineteenth century an organizing character," said Saint-Simon.

He attempted to establish a model industrial community five years before Robert Owen began his experiment at New Lanark; but was forced to abandon his plans through the stupidity of his business partner.

He was the only thinker of his time who foresaw that the commercial supremacy

of the future was to be won by the nation that had the most complete organization and consolidation of its industries.

When, last year, the balance of trade was nearly \$700,000,000 in favor of America, there were very few of us who remembered that another of Saint-Simon's dreams had come true.

7. International Arbitration.

At a time when militarism ruled Europe and when France had deified Napoleon, Saint-Simon taught that all standing armies should be abolished, and proclaimed the exit of the militarist.

Undazzled by the glory of a hundred French victories, he calmly announced that henceforward the manufacturer and the financier should dictate public policy to the General and the King.

He declared that the quarrels of nations, like those of individuals, should be settled by an impartial tribunal; and in 1883 this proposition was adopted as a national policy by Switzerland.

8. Divorce.

One hundred years ago the Church's doctrine of marriage had been modified slightly, so that a divorce might be granted to a man, but not to a woman.

Saint-Simon taught that divorces should be granted to men and women, if incompatibility were proven.

This view of divorce was, in spite of the fiercest opposition, enacted into law in France in 1884.

Second. *Those ideas that are partly understood.*

1. Social Reform by Education.

Although Saint-Simon was a leader in both the American and the French Revolutions, he taught his pupils the futility of force.

He said that no victory, whether military or political, had any substance unless upheld by public opinion and reinforced by public intelligence.

"A revolution merely changes the form in which tyranny appears," said he, "unless a higher brand of men replace those who have been driven from power."

2. Equal Opportunities.

"Place every one according to his capacity and reward him according to his work," said Saint-Simon.

"The State should be the Universal Legatee, the Common Parent," he said.

He taught that while people are unequally endowed by birth, they should not be by inheritance or law.

Every person should be allowed to accumulate all he could honestly earn, but should not be permitted to destroy the spirit of self-help in his children by bequeathing to them the rewards of his labors.

According to Saint-Simon's plan of social service, the aptitudes of children should be studied by their teachers; and then, equally endowed by the State with capital and economic opportunities, the young people should be placed where they can best develop their individual talents, and promote the general welfare.

Unlike the collectivists of his time, Saint-Simon did not believe that industrial organization should be perfected through the sacrifice of the individual; but that the aim of every social system should be the perfecting and ripening of the members who compose it.

3. Secularism.

"The body is as holy as the mind," said Saint-Simon.

"Material prosperity is a religious duty."

The welfare of the human race, he taught, is the only criterion by which actions or ideas are to be judged.

4. Barrenness of Metaphysics.

During Saint-Simon's lifetime, it was believed that metaphysics alone could solve the problems of the universe.

At the time when he was most deserted and ignored, when he was the wage-slave of a pawn-broker, Hegel, at Jena, was lecturing to crowds of enthusiastic students, and proclaiming transcendentalism to be the pathway to the highest knowledge.

Unmoved alike by scoffing or applause, Saint-Simon taught that transcen-

talism was nothing but words,—as unsubstantial as the coloring of a sunset cloud.

He outlined the scientific method of discovering truth and taught that no statement was of any more value than the sum-total of the known facts upon which it was based.

Third. *Those ideas that are neither in operation nor understood.*

1. Government by the Fittest.

Saint-Simon taught that the governments of his day, and of the present, are obstructive excrescences upon the social organism.

He declared, what almost every American election has proved to be true, that political democracy has, as yet, been no more than demagogism and the supremacy of mediocrity.

His proposal was for an "industrial parliament," composed of the ablest men and women in the various trades and professions.

Every member would be chosen by the votes of those in his own craft, and because of his abilities in his own line of work.

By this means a truly representative government would, for the first time, be established; yet also a government by genius, not mediocrity.

2. Public Nurseries.

Saint-Simon said: "I believe in the abolition of Domesticity, which is the last survival of serfdom."

He believed that the nurture and culture of babies and children should be the work of highly-skilled specialists, not amateurs who substitute sentiment for science.

Women and children, as well as men, are social beings, and should not be caged apart in enervating isolation.

3. Compulsory Labor.

The first commandment of Saint-Simon was: "All men must work."

Earn your own living or take your place among the thieves and beggars.

At a time when labor was despised by all nations, when even in America the

average wages were four cents an hour, Saint-Simon taught that labor was the highest expression of human energy and thought, nobler than the pomp of courts and the glory of conquest.

4. Free Law.

"Professional lawyers and judges should be abolished," said he.

"The lawyer is not only parasitical, but obstructive."

"It is his especial business to tie up the wheels of progress with the cords of custom and precedent."

Instead of administering justice for private profit, Saint-Simon would establish courts of arbitration, the members of which would be rewarded by honor, not by money.

5. The United States of Europe.

In 1814 Saint-Simon published an essay on "The Reorganization of European Society," advocating an international parliament to administer continental affairs.

This parliament would, for instance, connect the Danube with the Rhine and the Rhine with the Baltic sea, facilitate communication and transportation, regulate education, and unify the various legal codes.

The International Postal Union, including at the present time fifty-seven nations, is a slight illustration of his meaning.

"If every individual is for himself, who will be for the nation? And if every nation is for itself, who will be for the world?" So he answered when his contemporaries babbled of *laissez faire*.

6. A Religion of Knowledge.

"All present religions," said Saint-Simon, "are based upon speculation and fear, not upon knowledge and affection."

He first saw what is insisted upon to-day by Haeckel,—the necessity of abandoning insincere beliefs and formulating an intellectual monism.

We must build up a new system of thought out of what we know, omitting all that we merely remember or imagine.

Just as we have eliminated astrology from astronomy, and magic from chem-

istry, and fetishism from hygiene, so must we proceed until every department of knowledge is purged from speculative ignorance.

In 1808, when Comte was ten years old, Saint-Simon first used the phrase "positive philosophy"; and five years later expounded the idea which as been connected with the name of Comte.

The idea of a religion of humanity, burlesqued to-day by sentimentalists, is one of the noblest that ever entered a human brain; and, so far as human records can inform us, was original with Saint-Simon.

Such was the brain-product of this man.

His ideas were too large for France; too large for Europe.

They could be embodied only in an international republic of political and industrial peers, such as the United States shall be before the twentieth century is finished,

Saint-Simon was not a mystic, like Mazzini; not a systematist, like Fourier; not a philanthropist, like Owen; not an economist, like Marx; not a dreamer, like Bellamy and Morris.

His mind was symmetrical and harmoniously developed, enabling him to instruct men who had all manner of special aptitudes.

His philosophy has been called "the kernel from which sprout the greatest thoughts of modern writers, speakers and legislators."

It was a chance copy of his paper, "Le Globe," dropped in a Berlin coffee-house, that started the irresistible Social Democratic movement of Germany.

"Merely from a religious point-of-view," said Lacordaire, "Saint-Simonism was the most important movement since the Reformation."

"It was the first example of pure Socialism," said Professor Richard T. Ely.

Saint-Simon was the most practical man of his generation, as he was the first to point out the possibilities of national

and international coöperation for scientific, industrial and humanitarian purposes.

He exalted industry in an age dazzled by the glory of victorious war; he honored labor above all else at a time when it was most despised; when disintegration and revolution threatened all Europe, he taught that the work of the nineteenth century was to organize and consolidate; when science was a babe in the manger, he proclaimed the tiny infant to be the future sovereign of the world.

While others were swept hither and

thither by the wind of circumstances, he braced himself, formulated a life-purpose and lived it out until his last breath.

He observed the tendencies of his times and understood them.

Though he lived in the early spring-time of civilization, he recognized the oak-tree in the tiny sapling and the grain in the young, green blade.

Surely he is worthy of the title with which this sketch of him begins,—the First American.

HERBERT N. CASSON.

New York City.

THE COFFEE-CLUB MOVEMENT IN CALIFORNIA.

BY ERNEST FOX.

THE LIQUOR-TRAFFIC is merely one phase of a great social problem which confronts our civilization. Until recently, among a large number of our intelligent people the idea prevailed that if the saloon was banished, the evils which it entails would be banished, and the liquor-problem solved. But we are coming to know better than this, having found by experience that the banished saloon will not stay banished. One important reason for the failure to permanently abate the saloon evil is found in the fact that those who have courageously labored to lessen the crime and misery caused by drink have neglected to recognize that the saloon, as a social center, caters to legitimate social cravings. The Rev. George L. McNutt, has called the saloon "the one democratic club in American life," but there is now another democratic club gradually gaining popular favor and that is the Coffee-Club. This movement originated in San Diego, California, in 1896, when a number of young people, chiefly from the Epworth League and Christian Endeavor societies, gathered together and organized "The Coffee-Club Association" of San Diego. They incor-

porated under the laws of California as a membership association, with life membership fee fixed at \$1. The purpose of this Association, as stated in the incorporation papers, is:

"To establish houses of refreshment, recreation and amusement, where no intoxicating liquors, cigars or tobacco in any form, shall be sold, the profits from which houses shall not be divided among the members of the association, but shall be capitalized continuously, with a view to establishing other such houses; provided, that the association shall not, at any time, have power to levy any assessment upon its members, nor shall it have power to go in debt beyond fifty (50) cents per capita of its membership."

These young people recognize the fact that there should be some place besides the saloon where men could come and go freely without being asked about their past life, future plans, or religious preferences, yet where every legitimate social craving should be satisfied; and the problem they set themselves to solve might be stated thus: "How can we provide such

a place and make it self-supporting?" After a hard struggle they succeeded, as will be shown by the following extracts from a letter sent to the members of the San Diego Association by the Secretary, in 1898:

"The Coffee-Club was organized March 10, 1896, with 27 members, and after having increased to about 150 members, and having received additional donations of something like \$125, the first Coffee-House opened for business at 1827 E street, its present quarters, on May 19, 1898. After more than two years of appealing to the good people of this city to put \$1 each into a practical temperance work, this was the net result. Our fixed budget of monthly expense since then has been as follows:

"Salary—Manager and Assistant,	\$70.00
Rent.....	20.00
Gas, (about).....	10.00
Literature.....	2.00
Piano, (instalment).....	5.00
Miscellaneous	3.00
 "Total.....	 \$110.00

"And this before a dollar could be taken out of the business to purchase even food to sell again. We admit that the undertaking was a hazardous one on a capital of \$250.

"At first, and for several months, the monthly deficit was something alarming, but the directors and a few faithful members 'held on' heroically, despite the gloomy prediction of ninety per cent. of the Christian population of this city, who said the 'thing would never work.' Then gradually trade began to brighten; more customers, who had formerly patronized the saloon with their spare dimes, began to drop in. The deficit grew smaller and smaller and soon vanished altogether, and to-day, after sixteen months, the Coffee-Club is not only on a paying basis, but is actually paying a net profit and is entirely out of debt.

"We append a few figures from Manager Bachman's last report:

"Receipts for past six months..	\$1,932.49
Receipts for preceding six months.....	1,483.15
 "Increase, total,	 \$449.34
"Daily average sales.....	\$10.50
Profits for past six months....	117.35
Average monthly profits over all expenses.....	19.56

"The average daily attendance at the rooms is probably one hundred. Fifty-per cent. of these men were more or less frequenters of the saloon before the Coffee-Club opened for business. From obscurity the Club has risen to a conspicuous place 'on the street.' From being an object of ridicule it has risen to a position of respect and honor. But we did not organize to run one Coffee-Club nor to make money. Our sole object is to engage in practical temperance work and 'to expand.'"

Following this statement of facts came an appeal to members to secure from one to five new members, or to donate from one dollar to five dollars in order to raise the \$165 necessary to open the second Coffee-House.

The appeal was not in vain, and though there were times of stress and trial—dark hours of perplexity and disappointment—we have at the present time two successful club-rooms crowded with men daily.

The San Jose Coffee-Club opened for business November 22, 1900, and now has three club-rooms, two for men and one for women. The lunch business last year was over \$20,000.00; the report for June just past shows the lunch sales \$2,247.95 for the one month. Compare this with the San Diego report in its pioneer days as given above. About 200 women daily visit the women's department, and about 500 to 600 men daily make use of the men's rooms. The largest association in the State is in Los Angeles, which has two club-rooms visited

daily by from 1,000 to 1,500 men who come to lunch, to read, to play checkers, chess, or other innocent games, or to enjoy a social chat. It is truly a club for the clubless and a home for the homeless. Other successful Coffee-Club associations have been formed in Santa Clara, Petaluma, and Bakersfield, and the movement is being advocated in nearly every city of a population of three thousand or upward, throughout California.

The reading tables of the San Jose Coffee-Club contain twenty-two current magazines, the daily papers of San Jose and San Francisco, and many excellent books. Checkers, chess, crokinole and other games are also freely provided, but the principal attraction is the genial social atmosphere which prevails; the rooms have become a popular meeting-place for all classes of men, in spite of the fact that the equipment is very inadequate. The pastor of one of our leading churches came in to study the Club one day when the reading department was crowded with men. He said: "I do n't see why these men are not in the public library" (which is much more attractively fitted up). The writer pointed to a group of men chatting sociably and said: "Watch that group of men and see how perfectly at home they are; this is their club, they would not be at home in the public library with their working-clothes on." "That is so," he replied, "I had not thought of that."

Order is preserved in the Coffee-Club. Of course profane language or boisterous conduct is not allowed, and since the character of the place has become well understood, the men themselves have helped to preserve order. The lunch served is light lunch only, and nothing is served which can cause an unpleasant odor in the room, so that only one room is needed, the lunch department being a positive attraction, taking away that air of stiffness which is inevitable in an ordinary reading-room. This arrangement also saves having extra help. Everything is arranged for quick service. The bill-of-fare in the San Jose Coffee-Club, which is typical, is as follows:

"BILL-OF-FARE.

"Kindly pay on delivery.

"Tea, Coffee, Cocoa, Milk or Horlick's Malted-Milk with Doughnuts, Coffee-Bun, Sandwich or Bread and Butter.....	5 cents
"Soup.....	5 "
"Pie.....	5 "
"Baked Beans.....	5 "
"Fruit Nuts.....	5 "
"Granola.....	5 "
"Toasted Wheat Flakes.....	5 "
"Toasted Corn Flakes.....	5 "
"Flaked Rice.....	5 "
"Salad.....	5 "
"Fruits and Berries in season.....	5 "
"Extra Butter.....	5 "

"Other items will be added to the bill-of-fare from time to time.

"EXTRAS.—Owing to the small margin of profits we are compelled to charge for extras."

The cost of establishing a Coffee-Club varies according to locality and other conditions. Our experience in California has been almost invariably that the larger the amount of capital invested at first, the quicker self-support has been reached. The total investment in the San Jose Club has been about \$1,700, in the Los Angeles Club about \$2,500, though both associations started with much less than that amount. A continuous campaign is kept up for new members, and after the Club becomes self-supporting this fund is used for extension work only. The next club organized will probably have membership dues of \$1 per year, and not simply for life membership.

The fact that all profits are used to extend the work makes this important movement for social betterment practically a public institution without private profits, and thus we are enabled to secure the active coöperation of pulpit, press, and public-spirited citizens.

At the California State Christian Endeavor Convention, held at Santa Rosa, June 29th to July 4th, "The Coffee-Club Union" was organized for the purpose of federating the Coffee-Clubs of the State.

San Jose, Cal. **ERNEST FOX.**

THE CHOICE: AN ALLEGORY.

BY FELICIA BLAKE.

IT WAS night. From my window I looked across the barren, rolling country; across to distant mountains visible in the moonlight. The little settlement lay asleep below me; the sudden disappearance of a belated light made me conscious that it had been shining through an uncurtained window. Only the most self-assertive stars showed themselves. I was indeed alone.

The moonlight lengthened across the floor: slowly the luminous mist condensed and four figures moved in the silver flood. A voice said: "Choose."

I was attracted by a laughing, dimpled face; such varied expressions, such continually changing eyes; it seemed to be many women behind one mask.

I took her hand: my blood moved more swiftly, I felt the buoyancy of music, the intoxication of wine and I laughed joyously.

"Your name," I cried, "your name?"

"Pleasure," came from the full, red lips, but the voice had a restless tone, and was empty.

I blew her a smiling kiss and turned away.

Here stood a figure of dignity and beauty, perfection of line and feature, her head raised proudly. At her touch I felt a throb of confident power and force.

"Your name?" I asked.

"Wealth," she said. Her hands lay in mine until their increasing weight burdened me. I released them and moved away with lingering steps.

Another was beside me: was she beautiful? I do not know. I looked into her eyes; deep, deep beneath the surface. All else was forgotten. She drew nearer, I held her close. Upon my heart she laid one hand.

"I need not ask your name," I said, "it is Love."

"Yes, I am Love," murmured a voice of thrilling sweetness.

At last I spoke: "Though this is bliss there is still something else."

The hand trembled and a pain shot through my heart. "I *must* look, I must be sure there is nothing better."

The hand left my heart, not so the pain.

I faced another form. Here was a strange power, a brilliance, an intense fascination that woke not my heart but a flame of ambition. I touched her robe and the fire shot through me.

"Your name?" I faltered.

"My name is Fame."

"To possess you would be to possess the applause and envy of my fellows."

"Yes; all desire me." The voice was clear and cool.

"Come," I said, "let us go; your power is beyond all. Never could one tire of your wonderful charm; come."

We moved away together.

I felt a soft touch on my hand and paused.

"Take me with you," pleaded a sweet voice, "I will not hinder; let me go, too."

"I fear Fame will leave if I take you; no, do you remain here, I shall go with her."

But I knew there was pain in my heart.

Far had we traveled, Fame and I; over rough places, along smooth paths, but ever up, up; till sometimes I wearied and would rest. Often was I conscious of something gone, of something missed.

"Speak to me," was my command, "let me hear your voice."

And always the clear, cool tones responded, yet always was something lacking.

We had reached great heights.

I spoke:

"Now am I weary indeed. What has been done? I have followed you and men marvel; the world knows my name; after death you will keep that name alive—for a little time. Yet what is it? You have not brought me companionship, understanding; you are beautiful, you fascinate, yet you cannot keep pain from my heart; you have not filled it so that loneliness cannot creep in. Once," I mused, "there was no pain. Tell me, could I have brought Love too?"

"Surely," replied the cool, clear voice.

"And would you have led me as high?"

"As high!" Fame answered. "Why do you not know what Love could do? Love would have removed many obstacles, Love would have given you courage, inspiration; a joy that would have made all effort less. You would not have felt such fatigue had Love been with you. I spur you to action—Love would have acted with you."

I awoke.

I was alone.

FELICIA BLAKE.

Chicago, Ill.

THE BAN-DOGGE: A HALLOWE'EN PHANTASY.

BY DAN. BEARD.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY THE AUTHOR.



LL THE old sea-gods were ashore, frantic, raving, stark, staring mad; suffering from the delirium caused by their extravagant orgies on the ocean.

Hurled from the salt waves in the Atlantic and still impregnated with the raw ocean spume, the wild winds rushed headlong through the Bowery, and with shriek and yell drove the sleet into the faces of the pedestrians, turned umbrellas inside out or ruthlessly tore them from the hands of their owners and cast the black wrecks into the gutters.

Swinging from deadly wires in front of each saloon, museum, and pawn-shop, a spluttering focus of fierce light shed its brilliant but cold radiance over the shivering forms of both men and women.

These people apparently materialized from the blinding swirls as the snow swept by the light, and dissolved into snow again

as they passed out of the illuminated circle.

Like a son of the sea-bred storm a strangely garbed figure emerged, and, with a sailor's rolling walk, entered the Bowery.

It was a quaintly-dressed, ragged and bent figure; the frozen sleet glistened like armor on the worn and dilapidated clothing; thin shreds of creamy-white hair were tossed about by the warring elements. A huge, wolfish-looking dog followed close to the man and kept his smoking muzzle abreast his master's leg with an evident determination to allow neither the passers-by nor the raging blizzard to separate them.

Both the dog and the man at length came to an abrupt stop in front of a cheap lodging-house, called the "White Horse Hotel."

After peering through the side-lights adjoining the door and carefully inspecting the interior, the stranger entered and walking up to the desk, puzzled the drowsy clerk with these strange words:

"Ben lightmans to thy quarromes."

"What's that?"

"Ben lightmans to thy quarromes."

"I do n't catch on," replied the clerk, eyeing the dog askance; "and say," he continued, "we do n't keep no dog-pound here. I ain't no pound-master, neither. What yous want? Come, let it out in plain English."

"Is this the ken at the sign of the prauencer?"

"It's de 'White Horse Hotel,' do you tumble?"

"Marry, I fall not. Thy understanding doth savor more of a justicer than of a spittle ken cefe."

"Look here, old man, I do n't want any more of your guff—see?"

"The ruffian clye thee! I have lower in my bonge!" exclaimed the queer old man indignantly as he drew forth a leather purse and threw some coins on the desk.

"Pay for the mut, too, or he do n't get in—see?"

"May you hap on the harman and end triming on the chates," growled the guest fiercely as he placed some more coins in front of the clerk and walked away muttering, "I will lage it off with a gage of benhouse, then cut to my nose-watch."

The amount of money seemed to be perfectly satisfactory to the clerk. At the same time the coins apparently excited his curiosity and interest, for he weighed them in his hand and cast curious glances at the figure of the old man, as the latter hastened to the bright, open fire blazing in the sitting-room of the hostelry. Then the clerk took from the desk-drawer a thumb-marked book of coins, and, still holding the old man's money in his hand, turned over the leaves and examined the illustrations carefully. He whistled softly to himself, cast a look at the door where the old man had disappeared, and carefully folded his treasure trove in tissue-paper and placed the package in his fob-pocket, where he was not content to leave it until, by feeling inside and outside of his trousers, he satisfied himself of its safety.

Twisting his shiny moustache, he softly

swores many oaths, not as if he were angry, but apparently as though they were the only means available for giving vent to the feelings aroused in him by the examination and evident identification of the coins.

Crowded around the open fire, on the wooden settles and chairs, which were chained to the bare floor, was a heterogeneous crew: human derelicts, tossed by storms, driven by gales, carried by currents, bereft of compass, rudder or sails, caught up by the eddies and carried to a temporary haven in a cheap Bowery lodging-house.

There were people from all walks in life, with nothing in common but their poverty, gloomily brooding over the cheerful fire; for it must be said that, however meagerly the so-called sleeping-rooms were furnished and however scant the bed-clothes, the fire this night was generously warm and cheerful, and its crackling, ruddy blaze could not lose its luster or be saddened by its semicircle of impecunious humanity.

In a corner sat a man with a tattered volume of *The Tales of the Wayside Inn* in his hand. The reader was himself a poet, a former editor, a man with gentle mild-blue eyes, high forehead and a weak chin; a Harvard graduate, a friend of Emerson, Longfellow, Bryant, and the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table. He was a man of education and letters; a man of culture and refinement; a man to whom misery and vice were daily comrades, but whose innocent blue eyes never recognized his companions, for looking through their outer shell he saw only the common humanity beneath.

Unconscious, hence uncontaminated by his surroundings, he lived in the fairy-land of his own imagination.

Glancing up from his book at the newcomer, the poet murmured to himself:

"And on the threshold shivering stood
A one-eyed guest with cloak and hood."

Then, a sweet smile illuminating his face, he said: "Friends, this world is what we make it. Let us cast our sorrows and

cares to the howling wind outside and entertain each other with story and song."

The latest arrival shot furtive glances at the poet from beneath his shaggy brows, or, more properly speaking, from beneath his right brow, for there was no eye under the other. He fidgeted about in his chair and looked inquiringly at the assemblage and at the poet.

"I be but a grunting chete and thou a gentry gyber. Hast thou lower in thy bonge to bouse?" quoth the strange old man hesitatingly and in a high-keyed, cracked voice.

The words caused the poet to start, half rise from his chair and gaze intently at the speaker in an incredulous manner.

He then passed his hand before his eyes as if he doubted the reality of what he saw or heard; but presently recovering himself, he settled back in his chair and solemnly replied:

"But a flagge a wyn and a make pass your nabchete, my bene cofe."

Turning to the company the poet explained: "This old gentleman is a foreigner; he will pass round his hat for money for a pail of malt liquor to quaff as we talk."

"Say, dat's de cheese! now you're shouting! pass your dicer, Toppy!" exclaimed a bullet-headed, tough-looking young fellow.

"Get the growler ready," suggested another guest with awakening interest.

"What if his giblets skips wid de boodle?" queried a seedy-looking wreck as he put the price of his next meal into the hat and ruefully slapped his empty pocket.

Hands were thrust down in ragged trousers-pockets bringing forth coppers, nickels and even a few silver pieces, all of which were tossed into the old man's hat as he passed it round.

With the combined fortune of the company in their possession, he and the broad-shouldered, bullet-headed young tough left the room, followed by the silent, gaunt dog.

The company were beginning to show signs of anxiety before the door swung wide and the ill-matched pair reentered with a pail of foaming beer. Sprigs of green were in their hats and all was incrusted with glistening sleet and ice. The old man had the appearance of a sinister-looking Santa Claus, nor was the effect lessened by the numerous bundles and packages which he produced from under his cloak. Besides the beer, there was a large can of



THE OLD MAN'S SONG.

tobacco, a job lot of pipes, apples, peanuts; some coarse rye-bread and cheese-sandwiches plentifully daubed with mustard.

"Say!" cried the tough, "his old nibs is a corker. What?—well, I guess. Say! he looked so dinky and so poor dat he melted de marble hearts of de dames on de street and dey fired good t'ings at him and de bloakes at de saloon chipped in for 'baccy and pipes. 'Am I right?' well you bet you high old mucky muck! Come, boys," he continued, "take a pull at de growler w'at de gents call a loving-cup, and de old man will give us a shanty song."

The wolfish dog wagged its tail and scattered the melting particles of ice like water from a street-sprinkler; his one-eyed master had had something more than peanuts or cheese-sandwiches, and it appeared to have strengthened his voice, for when he burst forth into a roaring song, in place of the high, cracked falsetto, it was with a rich baritone he sang:

"Come bowse me a bord to a quier cuffin's dell,
Come bowse, ye rowsey rakes of Hell!
Her lover's hi-pad is the stormy salt lag,
And there is lower in my bonge, there is mint
in my bag
Hab a loup, a-loo, Haloo!

I 'll bing me a wast when a bowse I 've had
And I 'll bing with the dell on the lag hi-pad,
I love her, my cofes, though her cuffin's
quier,

My Ben Roman mort, my benile dear!
Hab a loup, a-loo, Haloo!

May we hap on a ken with a gyger dup
Green ruffmans for shade, fresh lag to sup,
Thatched lip-kin to shelter us from the dew
Girt round about by the briny lag blue;
Hab a loup, a-loo, Haloo!

We bowsed him a bord a wyn and a make
The ben dell stood at the garden gate,
We cutt ben whydds, we bowsed ane more
groat,
Jack milled the dell, bore her board of his
boat!

Hab a loup, a-loo, Haloo!
Thia-hilland a qui; Heave Yo!"

The refrain was caught by the crowd

and sung with a chorus none the less noisy on account of the ignorance of the singers regarding the meaning of the words.

The poet beamed with pleasure, and one would have thought from the smile on his delicate mouth that he had listened to a dainty bit of sentiment. It was evidently not the lack of refinement which pleased him, but rather its antique flavor which appealed to his bookish nature.

"Truly a quaint ballad that," he said, clapping his thin hands enthusiastically, "and I doubt if its like had been heard in this land since the days of Captain Kidd! A very jolly and interesting ballad. In the name of the company I thank our ancient bard for his song, and propose that he supplement his song with a story. I beg to suggest that, in the presence of the good cheer we have to-night, the story be of some incident or experience where man forgot his own selfish wants and ambitions."

The weird old man was sitting bent double in his chair. The strange crouching form was presently straightened and with a preparatory cough he began:

"Right honorable and myne especially good friends, I will no longer speak to thee in the lewd language of leuttering husks and laysy lowels, which language of ancient and long-time was wont to be termed 'Peddlers' French,' a tongue known only to bold, beastly beggars, a peevish speech, not fit for ears polite."

"Bravo!" exclaimed the poet as he gazed with an intent and incredulous expression at the weird bard.

"Aye, our Captain was a wily sea-fox," said the one-eyed guest, with no further attempt at an introduction.

"It was upon Alhallonday and our matches were afyer at their ends and our gunners at the side of their pieces, for there were no more than three bow-shots betwixt us and three noble vessels which were rolling their bonnets after the manner of the customs of the sea; but odds Tinkers! we did soon perceive that, while they did in sooth dance their topsails, they took not off their caps in salute, as com-

manded by Good King John, but used great care to touch them only and thereby not to much slacken the speed of their ships nor to lessen their chance to steal our weather-gage, cut off our wind with their sails and our sight with the smoke of their guns.

“By the Solomon,” quoth our captain, “I’ll lay a gage of ben bowse that there be guns double-shotted to give us a joyful welcome; but we have been hulled before, merrie gentlemen, and lived to sail many a league. I wist we sink not alone if sink we must.”

“As we drew near unto the strangers their commander maketh a rueful and pitiful noise and in peevish English said that they were poor merchant-seamen, requiring for Christ’s sake some relief, being short of water.

“Out upon them! No *honest gentlemen drink water!*” quod our Captain in disdain.

“Aye, but our Captain was of sharper wyt and subtiller than those grubworms.

“We answered not the guns of the stranger, paying no more heed to them than to the barking of a sea-dog.

“While below our gunners were at their pieces and our carpenters stopping the leaks with sail-cloth, on deck the piper was merrily playing, half the men being previously garbed as women; we danced as if it were Christmas mummeries and our Captain, calling for a bowl of ben roman sack and bowing low with manner courtley, drank to the health of all the bold, bawdy beggars of the sea; then came some score of naked men hopping and leaping around the docks like unto glimmering fantasies, and the light which blazed from various trenchards filled with strong spirits and salt caused the naked bodies to look as though they had been dead this many a moon; no children at the May-pole ever capered more blithely than we.

“By Mary’s ring, but the strangers did cross themselves with fear and micle dread. Verily, never had they before met such an enemy; they no longer sought to capture us, but made haste to flee from our hellish ship.

“Our gunners, no longer dissembling, put matches to their guns, giving the strangers a broadside of bar-and-chain shot; at the same time the May-pole revelers were throwing some several bags and kegs of powder, with burning matches affixed, upon the enemies’ decks, which made more noise and smoke than our broadside. The burning strong spirits were cast to the ‘thirsty merchant-men,’ for belly chere, and the flowing fyre ran down their ships’ splintered sides.

“Soon the masts and spars of the strangers fell like jack-straws this way and that, and we had divers and many troubles in freeing ourselves from the burning and sinking wracks.

“We now bore down upon the third ship. She sent a cannon-ball across our deck, killing some several of our men, which we minded not, there being overmany of us, but the ball struck a butt of canary spilling the liquor over the deck to our sore dismay.

“In our bow we had a long brass gun, most curiously embellished with mystic signs. Our men would have it that this gun was forged by no less a person than the Satan himself.

“By Joseph’s hozzen! I do think they were right in their conjectures; the one-eyed gunner patted and kissed the brass thing as though it were alive, and called it his doxie.

“As the Argos was making off, he sighted along the gun and fyered the piece, cutting the main-mast off close to the deck, which in falling did so swerve and swing as to bring all the timber and rigging by the bo’rd and leave her naught withall to catch the wind, but she must needs roll like a grunting chete in the wallow of the sea.

“I shrodge me for joy when I think of that ship. Odds spanners! but I love the very memory; rich robes and ribbands crisp, crinkling cloths of gold, particular parcels of precious stones, shimmering silks, rugs from Araby, rum in casks, wine in butts, iron-bound strong-boxes of gold doubloons, bags of piasters; yea, and there were bars of redgold piled up like firewood.”

The old man paused and seemed lost

in contemplation of the scene of his story and the dismantled treasure-ship. The silence which brooded over the company was at length broken by the poet.

"Friend, your story has artistic quality, nor does it lack local color and action, but I beg to remind you that entertaining as it is, the main point, which was to make it appropriate for this evening, has escaped me; if you will pardon me for so saying, I fail to see one disinterested action."

"Dat's right. His old Giblets clean forgot the game we're putting up ter-night. Say, he was n't out for salt air, I do n't guess."

"What stowe your ben cofe and cut be-nar whyddes!" growled the strange old man, scowling at the bullet-headed tough, but the latter only laughed and passed the can to the story-teller, who, after a long potation, looked less resentfully at his companion and presently broke forth in the old song from *Gammer Gurton's Needle*:

"I cannot eat but lytle meat,
My stomach is not good:
But sure I think that I can drink
With him that wears a hood!"

"After we had loaded our ship until we were in danger of sinking," continued the strange old man, "with many a sigh we bored holes in the hull of the argosy; we sighed not for the fate of the argosy; we grieved because we must needs leave much loot in her, being unable to store it aboard our vessel.

"Besides the crew, whom we pleasantly allowed to walk off the end of a spar, there were three others that by reason of their turbulent disposition caused us much inconvenience. One was a comely wench, with bright yellow hair, and her friends were a husky lad and a lusty dogge. By the mass, it was a winsome sight to see the two friends guard the wench! When we approached them the brawny young man cried to his love and to dogge, and betimes did lay about him lustily with a boat-hook in true quarter-staff style. 'To Lena and Lorna,' he shouted, and he broke many heads with his stick. Our men would

fain have taken the dell, but the vast, huge stubborn, ongly and eager Ban-dogge, more fierce and fell than any Barbary lion, stood by the lovers and did so worry our men's legs that they must needs fall back to bind up their wounds.

"The Ban-dogge and the young man struck cold fear into the hearts of our men, but stood in fear of nothing, and no number of foes made them shrincke or abridge their boldness."

A loud thumping on the floor greeted this announcement; the applause came from the wolfish companion of the story-teller, whose heavy tail was banged against the floor at every mention of the Ban-dogge.

"So we left the flax-haired girl, her lover and the dogge to go down with their ship and as we watched the argosy before she began to settle, lurch and disappear beneath the briny lag, we could see the wench; the Ban-dogge was licking her face and the maid's chalk-white arms were clasped around the beast's hairy neck.

"Gad zoinks! we did think her silly to drown while so many good men were by that she might have the choosing of, but she went down with the argosy. Women were always strange and curious in their minds beyond the ken of men. Odds bodkins! I have oft-times seen women that be so distraught."

"Never mind the girls, we all know 'em. Give us your yarn straight," broke in the voice of the clerk impatiently from the gloom outside the doorway.

"Ay, ay, I will steer a straight course," answered the ancient bard, and continued, "we made sail when I espied a something moving in the water. The lights aboard our ship, which were doused before the battle, had now been relit, and I could see by the light of the poop-lanthorns that the dogge was swimming around in search of the dell. Soon the barking chete found the object of its search and despite the buffets of the billows, swam with the wench to a bit of wrack to which the sorely wounded and nearly exhausted lover did cling. The latter took the burden from the dogge and bound the maid to the spar;

her fair hair floating in the water gleamed like the cloth-of-gold in the treasure-ship; but as the wrack drifted under our stern we could see that the raft was unable to uphold more than one; the young co'e saw this too, and after kissing the wench's white face he let go his hold and sank. The dogge looking up howled piteously, as if to say, 'Have ye hearts of stone, ye men, to witness this unmoved?'

dain. Then cried our bold Captain: 'By my troth, thou has but a woman's heart under thy buckler, which fears to see me shoot the dell; but since thy heart is only tender, not lacking courage, jump thou overboard and save them.'

"I was much wroth, and answered him fittingly in words of his kind. By the mass, it was this that I said unto him: 'Captain, you and I and the devil have



"AFTER KISSING THE WENCH'S WHITE FACE HE LET GO HIS HOLD AND SANK."

"'Verily,' I said; 'my heart is in the right place.'

"The Captain saw the girl and the barking chete as they were drifting by, and seizing a harquebusseen he lighted the match, pointed it at them and was about to fire when the devil in me made call upon him to stop.

"Much in rage, he turned the harquebusseen upon me. Methinks I never saw him look more monstrous, more fierce, more furious, and more sterne; but I laughed in his face and spat at him in dis-

together done naughty work that would force tears from stone, but the mariners do not live who doubt our courage, and, faith, I shall not suffer taunt from thee. Rather would I die with yon faithful brute than live longer under one of baser breed!' With these words I pitched headlong into the sea.

"By my troth as overboard I went, I did bethink me of all the goodly loot of costly fabrics, cloth-of-gold, piasters, silvercoins and bars of gold I had left behind, but soon the salt water was in my throat,

and struggle as I would I could but keep my mouth above water, so weighted was my body with armor, fore and aft, and whenever I ceased to paddle to unbuckle the plates I sank like a stone. 'Verily,' I thought, 'my time has come,' but just then the dogge caught me by the collar. The fast holde which she took with her teeth exceedeth all credit; and, being a large, powerful beaste, she kept me above water until I unbuckled my breast and back-plate and allowed them to sink. So much lighter did I then feel that it was but child's play to swim.

"Have you gotten her?" cried a voice from the darkamans. 'By the mass,' I cried, 'I have here both of them, Lorna and Lena!'

"We cannot take both," replied the Captain's voice, and forsooth I had to take my choice quickly, and it did grieve me sorely that one should be left behind.

"When the rescued ones were taken aboard the Captain's barge poor Lena lay as one dead, but after much work and warm drink she opened her beautiful eyes."

Clouds of tobacco-smoke all but obscured the quaint old figure as he reached for the beer-can.

"A brave and noble act: as you tell it in the first person I suppose it is a legend handed down from some old ancestor," cried the poet.

"It is a true tale," replied the old man, as he meekly wiped his mouth with his sleeve.

"Say, Giblets, wot became of de mut,

de dorg?" inquired the clerk, as he peered into the doorway.

"The ruffman clythee, *Lena was the dog!*"

A smile lighted up the face of the poet and just the hint of a twinkle lurked in his eyes; and, as he knocked the ashes from his pipe he said: "Let us give a vote of thanks to our venerable friend for his quaint entertainment."

"Dat's tight! stand up, old man, and we'll drink your health from the empty pail," cried the tough.

But the old man did not rise. The poet stopped short in the beginning of a very pretty bit of sentiment, and with a bewildered expression gazed at an empty chair and a broken church-warden pipe, at the same time softly repeating to himself:

"There were no footprints in the grass,
And none had seen the stranger pass."

A look of astonishment marked the face of the clerk; he hurriedly felt for the coins in his fob and pulled the pocket inside out, swearing a mighty oath when nothing but a crumpled piece of tissue-paper rewarded his search. "I've got 'em again," he cried; "it's a pipe-dream!"

The poet was first to regain his composure and turning to the door gently said:

"T is late, Oh men and time for bed;
Dead rides Sir Morten Fogelsang."

DAN. BEARD.

Flushing, L. I.



POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS
SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



Opper, in *New York American*.

(Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

HE WILL BE TRUE.

Oh, how I love my Leather, my Sugar and my Thread,
My Beef, my Rope, my Coal, my Soap, my Lumber and my Lead;
I'm true to Oil and Steel, and Drugs, and Bricks and Potteree—
In fact, there are only one hundred girls in this wide world for me.

DID IT EVER OCCUR TO YOU THAT—

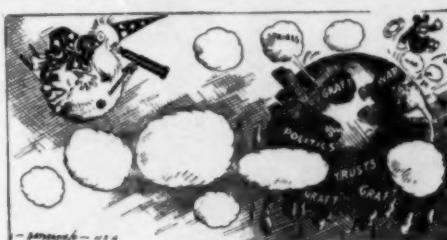


Bradley, in *Chicago News*.

THE REVISED VERSION.



While We are Wondering About the Spots on the Moon—



Satterfield, in *Albany Times-Union*.

The Man in the Moon May be Taking Notice of Some Mighty Black Spots on Us?



Biggers, in *Nashville Banner*.

BUSY A FIXIN' OF HIS PLANS.



Bush, in *New York World*.

THE GODDESS.—"HELP! HELP!"



Satterfield, in *Nashville Daily News*.

RUSSIA'S FIRST VICTORY—A FOOT-RACE.



Putnam, in *Boston Traveler*.

THE TRUSTS.—"DOWN, FIDO!"



McCarthy, in *Jacksonville, Fla., Times-Union*.

"HI, THERE, YOU, DON'T READ THAT—
THAT'S NOT FOR YOU!"



Warren, in *Boston Herald*.

THE NEW AUTOCRAT OF THE BREAKFAST TABLE.



DeMar, in *Philadelphia Record.*

THE GREAT AMERICAN RETREAT.



Bush, in *New York World.*

"HE IS GOOD ENOUGH FOR US!"



Walker, in *Memphis News.*

THE WORKINGMAN WHO READS THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE DECIDES THAT THE G. O. P. ELEPHANT IS DRAWING A VERY POOR PICTURE FROM A MIGHTY POOR SUBJECT.



From *The New Voice.*

AS PROHIBITIONISTS SEE THE SITUATION.



Smith, in *Denver Miner's Magazine*.

GOVERNOR PEABODY AS THE
WORKINGMEN SEE HIM.



Morier, in *The Comrade*.

PUPPETS OF CAPITALISM.
A Socialist Cartoon Suggested by Con-
ditions in Colorado.



From *The Comrade*.

AS THE SOCIALISTS SEE THE
TRUST-QUESTION.

Under the Modern Monopolistic Sys-
tem Capital is Forcing Labor to
the Wall.



From the Stuttgart (Germany) *Der Wahre Jacob*.

THE CZAR'S MANIFESTO ON THE BIRTH OF
HIS SON IS A BUBBLE.



WHEN IT BURSTS THE GLORIES OF AUTOCRACY
WILL AGAIN APPEAR.



Bengough, in Chicago *The Public*.

LAND MONOPOLY MAKES THE DIFFERENCE.

"The child of an Astor comes into the world as naked as the waif of Five Points. Nature does not starve one and gorge the other. Human law does that."—Herbert S. Bigelow.



Bush in New York *World*.

THE REAL ROAD RACES.

EDITORIALS.

TREATMENT OF THE INSANE POOR IN MASSACHUSETTS SIXTY YEARS AGO; OR, HOW A WOMAN WROUGHT A REVOLUTION FOR HUMAN PROGRESS.

I. MASSACHUSETTS' INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL PRIMACY.

SIXTY-FOUR years ago Massachusetts was the moral as well as the intellectual capital of the New World. Within her confines were more men and women whose moral enthusiasm, ethical energy and spiritual powers were being felt or were soon to be felt throughout the nation and the world than in any other commonwealth of the Republic; while her scholars at home and abroad were recognized as a galaxy preëminent in the sisterhood of states. Among those of her children within or without the commonwealth who were filling important places in the larger life of their age or who were destined to make their influence felt within a few years, were the then venerable William Ellery Channing, the Nestor of nineteenth-century liberal Christianity in the New World; Theodore Parker, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Edward Everett, Daniel Webster, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant, John G. Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Josiah Quincy, Rufus Choate, John Lothrop Motley, William H. Prescott, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Robert Morse, Henry D. Thoreau, Bronson Alcott, Dorothea Lynde Dix, Mary A. Livermore, Julia Ward, Horace Mann and Dr. Samuel G. Howe. And even this remarkable list by no means exhausts the names of those who might be mentioned as among the moving forces in the intellectual and moral life of the meridian period of the nineteenth century who were born and reared in the old Bay State or who owned Massachusetts as the home of their adoption. Surely Massachusetts was entitled to hold the place of moral and intellectual primacy among the commonwealths of the Union. Such was the glory of the old Bay State when the eye rested on the florescence of greatness and goodness which obtained at this period.

II. THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE.

And yet in this summer-time of heart and brain the soul of the masses of her people was unawakened. Selfish indifference as to the well-being of the most unfortunate lives within her gates marked the temper of a large part of her electorate. Custom had sanctioned and conventionalism had thrown her approving mantle over hideous crimes against the criminal, the pauper and the insane poor. The church was all but silent; the state was indifferent; the general public was either ignorant or but dimly conscious of the extent of the abuses that prevailed. Politicians were little concerned about the social outcasts and unfortunates who could in no wise further their ambitions; but they were very sensitive about the complaints of tax-payers against the increased expenses when those complaints threatened their official life. The village, municipal and county authorities had become callous in regard to the crying evils that had slowly grown up with the years, and long familiarity with conditions that were revolting to the enlightened humanitarian spirit of the hour had deadened their humane sensibilities to an appalling degree. They knew that whenever the question of increase in cost for maintenance of jails and almshouses was agitated, the tax-payers raised a storm of opposition; so they had adopted as a settled policy methods for the conduct of these institutions that represented the least immediate outlay. It is not strange, therefore, that conditions obtained, even in Massachusetts, that when described in the plainest terms were well calculated to make the blood run cold of those who loved their fellowmen and who appreciated the obligations of the higher moral law.

III. THE CAMBRIDGE JAIL IN 1841.

In 1841 a young Harvard divinity student who through teaching a Sunday-school in the Cambridge jail had become interested in the

condition of the prisoners, appealed to Miss Dorothea Lynde Dix to know if she could not find some Christian woman who would teach the women in the prison.

Miss Dix, though a young woman, was already an influence in the morally-awakened centers of Boston life. She had successfully conducted a boarding-school for girls of the well-to-do by which she supported herself and her two small brothers, and she had also successfully carried on a free school for the very poor at her own expense. She was greatly loved by Dr. William Ellery Channing, whose children she had taught and who had come to be almost a father to her. Something of that spiritual or moral enthusiasm that Dr. Channing ever imparted to those who came under the witchery of his influence had entered into the brain and soul of Dorothea Dix. She had reached that point of spiritual advance when duty's call is a divine mandate; when all thought of self dwarfs into insignificance before concern for the larger good of the race. Through overwork Miss Dix's health had been broken, and she was threatened with pulmonary consumption and to outward seeming was wholly unfit to undertake such a work as the young divinity student desired. But she did not hesitate, and the next Sunday she visited the jail, where the conditions that met her view filled her with indescribable horror. Here for the first time she was brought "into immediate contact," observes Rev. Francis Tiffany, the ablest biographer of this noble woman, "with the overcrowding, the filth, and the herding together of innocent, guilty, and insane persons, which at that time characterized the prisons of Massachusetts, and the inevitable evils which were repeated in even worse shape in the almshouses."

In after years the Rev. John T. G. Nichols, who was the young divinity student that had interested Miss Dix in the fate of the inmates, thus described her visit to the Cambridge prison and its result:

"After the school was over, Miss Dix went into the jail. She found among the prisoners a few insane persons, with whom she talked. She noticed there was no stove in the room, and no means of proper warmth. The jailer said that a fire for them was not needed, and would not be safe. Her repeated solicitations were without success. At that time the court was in session at East Cambridge, and she caused the case to be brought before it. Her request

was granted. The cold rooms were warmed."

Miss Dix, in the high enthusiasm of a morally-exalted youth, imagined that all that would be necessary would be to reveal the facts to the public, and reform would speedily follow. She soon found, what all reformers have experienced, that conventional society resents having the unpleasant truth thrust upon its notice, especially when the exposures reflect upon its complacent self-righteousness and when the remedies to meet the cruel conditions demand reforms that would increase taxes. Moreover, she quickly found that the reformers and not the authors of the abuses described are usually the targets for the attacks of conventional respectability and the influences and agencies that cater to but are supposed to lead and mould public opinion. Finding herself the object of unjust attacks and practically isolated, she appealed to that noble-minded philanthropist and educator, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, requesting him to investigate conditions and verify her statements. This he promptly did. He was accompanied by Charles Sumner, and both these high-minded men were affected as had been Dorothea Dix at the frightful conditions that prevailed. Dr. Howe immediately penned an eloquent protest, which was published in the *Boston Advertiser* of September 8, 1841. In it he laid bare the disgraceful and dehumanizing conditions which prevailed in the Cambridge jail. Instantly the fiercest opposition flamed forth. Dr. Howe was denounced and his facts denied. Had the word "yellow" been then in circulation his disclosures would unquestionably have been denounced as an exhibition of yellow sensationalism. As it was his article was, as Dr. Tiffany observes, "fiercely attacked, as is generally the case when abuses are pointed out." So recklessly was his veracity questioned that the Doctor finally appealed to Charles Sumner to confirm his statements. This Mr. Sumner promptly did by penning the following lines:

"I am sorry to say that your article does *present a true picture* of the condition in which we found those unfortunates. They were cramped together in rooms *poorly ventilated and noisome with filth*. . . . You cannot forget the small room in which were confined the ravaging maniac, from whom long since reason had fled, never to return, and that interesting young woman, whose mind was so slightly obscured that it seemed as if, in a moment, even while we were looking on, the cloud would pass away.

In two cages or pens constructed of plank, within the four stone walls of the same room, these two persons had spent several months. The whole prison echoed with the blasphemies of the poor old woman, while her young and gentle fellow in suffering, doomed to pass her days and nights in such close connection with her, seemed to shrink from her words as from blows. And well she might; for they were words not to be heard by any woman in whom reason had left any vestige of its former presence. It was a punishment by a cruel man in heathen days to tie the living to the dead; hardly less horrible was this scene in the prison at Cambridge."

IV. TWO YEARS' PILGRIMAGE THROUGH A NINETEENTH-CENTURY INFERNO.

The frightful conditions which were revealed when Miss Dix visited the Cambridge jail haunted her every waking hour. An awful suspicion grew in her mind that what she had seen was typical of the conditions that existed throughout the state. The more she pondered on the question the more the conviction grew that a great task, but one that in the nature of the case would be of the most distasteful and trying character, demanded her consecrated service. If under the very shadow of Harvard University, in Cambridge, the intellectual and moral center of the Boston district, such conditions could go unchallenged, was it not probable that in the jails and alms-houses of districts more remote even more horrible conditions might obtain? And if such a state existed in Massachusetts, where there were already state insane asylums under the management of broad-minded and humane physicians who were striving to restore the mentally-disordered inmates through the employment of the most enlightened methods then known, what must be the condition in less progressive commonwealths, in many of which there were no state institutions for the care of the mentally-diseased? The more she considered the subject, the more the conviction grew in her mind that a great duty lay before her. Yet she shrank from the task, not so much because she was extremely delicate, but because she was of a highly sensitive nature that recoiled from notoriety and whom misinterpretation of motives, criticism and slanderous imputations cut to the soul. But since no one else seemed willing to undertake the work, she at length set out upon a pilgrimage to obtain the necessary data with which to in-

fluence public opinion—a pilgrimage nobler than ever knight or mendicant had hitherto essayed. She knew that to be of real service to the most helpless ones of the state she must know the facts as they were found, from one end of the commonwealth to the other. The revelations in one community must be reinforced by facts and data which she could personally gain from other localities. And so from Cape Cod to the Berkshire Hills this God-illumined child of civilization journeyed. For two years she wandered from prison and alms-house to prison and alms-house. For two years she steadily accumulated the data that should work a revolution for the helpless insane. At length her journeyings were at an end. She had collected a mass of data almost incredible in character and well calculated to startle society, enrage the upholders of existing conditions and horrify men and women of enlightenment. The facts were reduced to a Memorial, which her friend Dr. Howe, then a member of the House, presented to the legislature. In a well-worded introduction to this Memorial Miss Dix said:

"I shall be obliged to speak with great plainness, and to reveal many things revolting to the taste, and from which my woman's nature shrinks with peculiar sensitiveness. But truth is the highest consideration. *I tell what I have seen*, painful and shocking as the details often are, that from them you may feel more deeply the imperative obligation which lies upon you to prevent the possibility of a repetition or continuance of such outrages upon humanity. . . .

"I proceed, gentlemen, briefly to call your attention to the *present* state of insane persons confined within this Commonwealth, in *cages, closets, cellars, stalls, pens; chained, naked, beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience!*"

Here are some extracts from this Memorial. They will serve to show how the very poor who were so unfortunate as to lose their reason sixty-four years ago were treated in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

"DANVERS. November. Visited the alms-house; a large building, much out of repair; understand a new one is in contemplation. Here are from fifty-six to sixty inmates: one idiotic; three insane; one of the latter in close confinement at all times.

"Long before reaching the house, wild shouts, snatches of rude songs, imprecations, and obscene language, fell upon the ear, proceeding

from the occupant of a low building, rather remote from the principal building, to which my course was directed. Found the mistress, and was conducted to the place, which was called '*the home*' of the *forlorn* maniac, a young woman, exhibiting a condition of neglect and misery blotting out the faintest idea of comfort, and outraging every sentiment of decency. She had been, I learnt, a respectable person, industrious and worthy; disappointments and trials shook her mind, and finally laid prostrate reason and self-control; she became a maniac for life! She had been at Worcester Hospital for a considerable time, and had been returned as incurable. The mistress told me she understood that while there she was comfortable and decent. Alas! what a change was here exhibited! She had passed from one degree of violence and degradation to another, in swift progress; there she stood, clinging to, or beating upon, the bars of her caged apartment, the contracted size of which afforded space only for increasing accumulations of filth—a *jou* spectacle; there she stood, with naked arms and disheveled hair; the unwashed frame invested with fragments of unclean garments; the air so extremely offensive, though ventilation was afforded on all sides save one, that it was not possible to remain beyond a few moments without retreating for recovery to the outward air. Irritation of body, produced by utter filth and exposure, incited her to the horrid process of tearing off her skin by inches; her face, neck, and person were thus disfigured to hideousness.

"Is the whole story told? What was seen is; what is reported is not. These gross exposures are not for the sight of one alone; all, all; coarse, brutal men; wondering, neglected children; old and young, each and all, witness this lowest, foulest state of miserable humanity. And who protects her, that worse than Pariah outcast, from other wrongs and blacker outrages?"

"GROTON. A few rods removed from the poor-house is a wooden building upon the roadside, constructed of heavy board and plank. . . . There is no window, save an opening half the size of the sash, and closed by a board shutter; in one corner is some brick-work surrounding an iron stove, which in cold weather serves for warming the room. The occupant of this dreary abode is a young man, who has been declared incurably insane. He can move a measured distance in his prison;

that is, so far as a strong, heavy chain depending from an iron collar which invests his neck permits. In fine weather,—and it was pleasant when I was there in June, last—the door is thrown open, at once giving admission to light and air, and affording some little variety to the solitary, in watching the passers-by. But that portion of the year which allows of open doors is not the chiefest part; and it may be conceived, without draughting much on the imagination, what is the condition of one who for days and weeks and months sits in darkness and alone, without employment, without object."

"SHELBURNE. I had heard, before visiting this place, of the bad condition of a lunatic pauper. . . . I desired to see him, and, after some difficulties raised and set aside, was conducted into the yard, where was a small building of rough boards imperfectly joined. All was still, save now and then a low groan. The person who conducted me tried, with a stick, to rouse the inmate; I entreated her to desist, the twilight of the place making it difficult to discern anything within the cage; there at last I saw a human being, partially extended, cast upon his back amidst a mass of filth, the sole furnishing, whether for comfort or necessity, which the place afforded; there he lay, ghastly, with upturned, glazed eyes and fixed gaze, heavy breathings, interrupted only by faint groans, which seemed symptomatic of an approaching termination of his sufferings. Not so thought the mistress. 'He has all sorts of ways; he'll soon rouse up and be noisy enough; he'll scream and beat about the place like any wild beast, half the time.' 'And cannot you make him more comfortable? Can he not have some clean, dry place and a fire?' 'As for clean, it will do no good; he's cleaned out now and then; but what's the use for such a creature? His own brother tried him once, but got sick enough of the bargain.' 'But a fire; there is space even here for a small box-stove.' 'If he had a fire he'd only pull off his clothes, so it's no use.' I made no impression; it was plain that to keep him securely confined from escape was the chief object. 'How do you give him his food? I see no means of introducing anything here.' 'Oh!' pointing to the floor, 'one of the bars is cut shorter there; we push it through there.' 'There? Impossible! you cannot do that; you would not treat your lowest dumb animals with that disregard to *decency*!' 'As for what he eats or where he

eats, it makes no difference to him; he'd as soon swallow one thing as another."

"**NEWTON.** Opening into this room only was the second, which was occupied by a woman, not old, and furiously mad. It contained a wooden bunk filled with filthy straw, the room itself a counterpart to the lodging-place. Inexpressibly disgusting and loathsome was all; but the inmate herself was even more horribly repelling. She rushed out, as far as the chains would allow, almost in a state of nudity, exposed to a dozen persons, and vociferating at the top of her voice; pouring forth such a flood of indecent language as might corrupt even Newgate. I entreated the man, who was still there, to go out and close the door. He refused; that was not *his place!* Sick, horror-struck, and almost incapable of retreating, I gained the outward air."

The Memorial closes with this passionate appeal to the moral convictions of the legislators:

"Men of Massachusetts, I beg, I implore, I demand, pity and protection for these of my suffering, outraged sex. Fathers, husbands, brothers, I would supplicate you for this boon—but what do I say? I dishonor you, divest you at once of Christianity and humanity, does this appeal imply distrust. . . . Here you will put away the cold, calculating spirit of selfishness and self-seeking, lay off the armor of local strife and political opposition; here and now, for once, forgetful of the earthly and perishable, come up to these halls and consecrate them with one heart and one mind to works of righteousness and just judgment. . . . Gentlemen, I commit to you this sacred cause. Your action upon this subject will affect the present and future condition of hundreds and thousands. In this legislation, as in all things, you may exercise that wisdom which is the breath of the power of God.

"Respectfully submitted.

"D. L. DIX.

"85 Mt. Vernon street, Boston,
"January, 1843."

V. HOW CONVENTIONALISM SEEKS TO DIS-
CREDIT AND DESTROY THE APOSTLES
OF PROGRESS.

This Memorial naturally created a profound sensation and aroused the almost furious wrath of those responsible, even indirectly, for the outrages; and it stung many tax-payers into

resentment who had for years harped against the meager expenditures for the community's unfortunates. It is a fact worthy of notice in passing, that whenever shameful abuses are brought to light by high-minded men and women, not only are the responsible parties and their friends quick to deny them and seek to throw odium on those who have championed the cause of the defenceless, but conventional society at large and those who foolishly imagine that people who uncover iniquity in a community are bringing the state or community into disgrace, together with the large number of echoes of easy-going conservatism found in every community, usually unite in an attempt to discredit and if possible to ruin those who stand for justice, humanity and civilization's high needs. This was strikingly illustrated in France in the Dreyfus case, when Colonel Picquart and Emile Zola were prosecuted for championing and boldly defending the cause of a victim of one of the most cruel plots ever perpetrated by a civilized state.

So in Massachusetts, in 1843, a veritable storm of public indignation against the patient friend of the unfortunates followed the publication of the Memorial. Miss Dix's facts were denied or derided. No pains were spared in seeking to destroy the force of her revelations by representing them as the product of an excited imagination. In referring to the reception of this great protest, which was the immediate cause of the first splendid victory in the life-work of this noble woman, Dr. Tiffany says:

"Inevitably a Memorial such as that now described struck and exploded like a bombshell. It was carrying the war into Africa. It was the arraignment not of a local evil here and there, but of the state of things prevailing more or less in every township throughout the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. 'Incredible! incredible!' was the first natural outcry of humane people. 'Sensational and slanderous lies!' was the swift and fiery rejoinder of selectmen, alms-house keepers, and private citizens in arms for the credit of their towns. Everywhere the newspapers bristled with angry articles. 'There are some,' this was the tone too often adopted, 'and Miss Dix may be one of them, who are always on tiptoe, looking forward for something more marvelous than is to be discovered in real life; and because the things themselves will not come up to this pitch of the imagination the imagination is brought

down to them, and has a world of its own creating.”

Everyone who knew Miss Dix knew that she was anything but a sensationalist. Every legislator and journalist who affected to regard the Memorial as an exhibition of feminine emotionalism, either a bid for notoriety or the hysterical shriek of an ill-balanced mind, knew full well that the author had spent two years in careful and painstaking personal investigation. The selectmen and alms-house keepers were naturally enough furious, and their insulting denunciations of Miss Dix and their positive denials of the conditions she described were calculated to give aid and comfort to the opposition and to negative the influence of the young woman’s report. Indeed, there is no telling what would have been the result of these brazen denials and wholesale denunciations, had not the great moral characters of the community quickly ranged themselves on the side of Miss Dix. Among these were Dr. William Ellery Channing, Horace Mann, Dr. Howe, Rev. J. G. Palfrey, and Dr. Luther V. Bell of the McLean Asylum.

VI. DR. BELL SHOWS HOW HOPELESS INSANITY WAS A FRUIT OF PUBLIC PARSIMONY.

The officials responsible for the outrageous treatment of the poor man who was caged and chained in Groton were particularly abusive; but Dr. Bell came to Miss Dix’s rescue and materially strengthened the cause of humanitarianism and wise statesmanship by publishing the following remarkable facts relative to the unfortunate Miss Dix had described:

“MY DEAR MISS DIX: On recurring once more to your Memorial, for which I pray that you may have a reward higher than the applause of this world, I thought I would make you a short statement touching the case of a young man in the poor-house at Groton, referred to on page nineteen.

“Various coincidences led me to suppose this individual to be one James Gilson, such as the fact of having been at ‘the hospital,’ the peculiar blacksmith work for his restraint, etc.

“I extract a part of the history of his case, as recorded at the time by my assistant, of course with no expectation on his part of its being seen or published beyond the ordinary records of cases.

“1840, December 15. Mr. James Gilson,

Groton, aged 30, single; town-pauper. About nine months since, whilst at work in Lowell, his derangement came on, and soon after he was sent to the House of Correction, in East Cambridge; there he remained till last June (1840), when he was removed to the poor-house in Groton, and confined in the following revolting manner: A *band of iron*, an inch wide, went round his neck, with a chain six feet long attached. This was used for the purpose of securing him to any particular place. His hands were restrained by means of a *clavis* and *bolt* (of iron), appropriated to each wrist, and united by a padlock. In this bondage, this iron cruel bondage, talking incoherently to be sure, but without any exhibition of violence, was he brought to the Asylum *in the morning, after having been chained up the night before in a barn, like a wild animal, to spend its dreary hours*. His shackles were immediately knocked off in the presence of his keeper, his swollen limbs chafed gently, when the delighted maniac exclaimed “My good man, I must kiss you,” etc.

“So little was this man a subject for personal restraint during his residence with us that he never even injured his clothes, ate at a common table with knives and forks with a dozen others, slept in a common bed-room, and was considered as a pleasant patient filled with delusions. After a short interval, curative means were employed, and, as we judged, with most obvious and encouraging advantage, until on the 23rd day of April, that is, after a little over four months’ trial, when the overseers of the poor, without previous notice, sent for him, while under the most energetic use of remedies which required a gradual discontinuance. My assistant’s record closes with saying, ‘Reluctant to go, for fear they will again chain him.’

“‘The occupant of this dreary abode is a young man,’ you observe in your Memorial, ‘who has been declared incurably insane.’ Alas! he may be so now; two years of chaining, doubtless, has extinguished forever his hope of recovery; but when he was removed from this place, I declare it as my opinion that he was not only not incurably insane, but was on the path to recovery; in every respect a promising case. So fully was I impressed with this that I urged the messengers to return till I could advise the town of his prospects; but this was declined.

“How much now, my dear madam, do you suppose the charge to the large and thriving



UNCLE SAM: "SOMEHOW I DON'T FEEL AS UPRIGHT AS I USED TER FEEL!"

Drawn by Dan. Beard expressly for THE ARENA.
(See Editorial.)

town of Groton was for this poor man under the care of this department of the Massachusetts General Hospital? Precisely three dollars a week for every expense of support, care, and comfort; perhaps a third or a half more than his present cost.

"Very truly yours,
"LUTHER V. BELL."

VII. A GREAT VICTORY FOR HIGHER CIVILIZATION.

Dr. Howe took charge of the Memorial, and largely through his valiant efforts victory was achieved by securing far more liberal provisions for the treatment of the insane in the hospitals of the Commonwealth. Yet it was a hard-fought battle, a struggle contested at every step; and on one occasion Dr. Howe wrote Miss Dix about the persistent efforts of the opposition to delay and if possible defeat the reform measure which provided for the extension of the State hospitals so that it would be possible to accomodate the very poor among the insane. "I do not like," wrote Dr. Howe on this occasion, "to indulge in feelings of distrust, but have been irritated by the cold, pecuniary policy of these men. A friend overheard one of those very men who talked so pathetically to you, say, 'We must find some way to kill this devil of a hospital bill!'"

But all the efforts of politicians dominated by gross commercial ideals were powerless to stay the rising tide of public indignation, after the people came to thoroughly understand that Miss Dix had merely uncovered the shameful condition of inhuman and savage treatment of

the most unfortunate of their fellow-beings in the Commonwealth.

As soon as success had crowned her efforts in Massachusetts, Miss Dix visited Rhode Island, where she carried to a victorious end a similar campaign. Next she visited New Jersey, where frightful conditions prevailed and where there were no State asylums to care for the unfortunates. After exhaustive labors, similar to those which she had carried on in Massachusetts, she succeeded in so arousing public sentiment that a well-equipped State asylum was established at Trenton. Next she journeyed south and west, and later she crossed the seas; and wherever she went she wrought a wonderful work and won great victories for humanity.

It is our purpose at an early date to give our readers a sketch of the life and wonderful work achieved by this remarkable woman whose name is entitled to a high place among earth's noblest benefactors. At present we merely wish to cite this memorable passage in the history of Massachusetts, which strikingly illustrates two things: 1. The great victories which a frail young woman, overmastered by high ideals and influenced solely by a passionate love for the most unfortunate members of society, was able to achieve in the face of apparently insurmountable opposition; and 2. the important fact that whenever a party is long in power, unchecked by a strong opposition, or whenever the people abandon their government to political bosses or machine politicians, crying abuses creep into public institutions, which call for investigation, exposure and remedy.

UNCLE SAM UNDER THE BURDEN OF THE "BIG STICK."

THE results of our miserable attempt to exchange moral leadership for leadership based on physical force among the nations of the earth, under the reactionary and imperialistic ideals that dominate monarchies and against which our republic for a century stood as a great and commanding protest, are strikingly emphasized in Mr. Beard's powerful and effective cartoon; and the ethical, or rather the unethical, keynote of our present situation is summed up in the words put into

the mouth of Uncle Sam: "Somehow I do n't feel as upright as I used ter feel." Like all of Mr. Beard's cartoons, this picture preaches a powerful sermon. It is as stern and somber as the "Thus saith the Lord!" of the ancient Hebrew prophets. It brings before the mind facts—grim facts—more vividly and effectively than would be possible if they were presented at length in a labored argument. It is a fact for thoughtful men and women of conscience to ponder over.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC.

CAMPAIGN FOR IMPROVEMENT OF OUR POSTAL-SERVICE.

THE Postal-Progress League, of which the well-known business man, Colonel Albert A. Pope, is the head, is inaugurating a vigorous campaign which should receive the hearty support of every American citizen, because the programme proposes to give the American people the benefits now enjoyed by the citizens of other progressive nations where giant monopolies have not been able to thwart the interests and will of the people for the enrichment of the few; and the reforms which are demanded in order to bring our postal service to the front rank are such as will immediately benefit the public at large, as will be seen by a perusal of the following demands of the League:

1. A parcels-post, like that now successfully in service in England.
2. A cheap and convenient postal currency to supersede postal money-orders.
3. A local-delivery parcels-post, carrying large parcels at low rates.
4. The extension of the free-delivery service to small towns and villages.
5. Reforms in the foreign postal-service.

Included in the reforms of the foreign postal-service are:

Two-cent postage on all foreign letters.
Special delivery of foreign mail.
International postal letters of indemnity.
An international cheap parcels-post, the limit of weight to be eleven pounds.

The Postal-Progress League is preparing for an active campaign, and is going to flood the country with circulars of its propaganda. They want the rates on the domestic parcels-post to be:

On three ounces, one cent.
On one pound, five cents.
On eleven pounds (the limit), twenty-five cents.

There are few greater scandals in our public life than exist in the Post-Office Department, due to the influence exerted by the railroad corporations and the express companies over the administration and in the Senate of the United States. It has been shown time and again since Postmaster-General Vilas called the attention of the Senate to the abuses that obtained in the department, that the railroads are plundering the government and causing an enormous deficit in a department which might easily be made self-supporting while at the same time greatly extending the service in regard to second-class matter and a parcels-post. For instance, we find the United States government paying a rental of six thousand dollars a year for mail-cars that cost considerably less than six thousand dollars to build, though the average life of the car is nineteen years; and in addition to this the department is paying considerably higher tariffs for the carrying of mail than the express companies pay for the same privileges, while the influence of the great express companies and of the railways has succeeded thus far in preventing the United States from securing the benefits of an efficient parcels-post, such as exists in Austria, Germany, Great Britain and other nations.

This betrayal of the interests of the people for the interests of the corporations is rendered possible largely on account of that most dangerous yet inexpensive species of bribery known as courtesies, free passes and free transportation, given by public-service companies operated for private gain to the people's servants. Only a few months ago a gentleman connected with one of the large express companies in one of our richest commonwealths said to us in the course of a conversation:

"The junior Senator from this State has whatever he desires dead-headed from his palatial home to Washington when he leaves for the capital, and on his return the express companies are again at his service. If he should want packages sent to San Francisco it would be the same. Now," he continued, "who pays for that? Not the express companies. They are not going to allow them-

selves to suffer from favors granted to law-makers. Oh, no! You and I and all the people who pay express-charges must in the long run foot these bills. And," he added, "it is a good thing for the companies' interest to have highly respectable, wealthy and scholarly statesmen obligated to them."

It is high time that it be made a prison offence for the people's servants to accept this or any other form of bribery by which the public-service companies make the people in the long run pay for service which in effect is bribery for the defeat of the rights and interests of the people. Just so long as it is not made a penal offence for any public-servant, from the President down, to accept any favors or courtesies whatsoever from the public-service corporations, the interests of the people will be sacrificed and the ends of good government defeated.

There is no department of our government where radical reform is more imperatively demanded than in the postal-service along the lines comprehended in the programme of the Postal-Progress League; and what is needed is persistent, intelligent educational agitation which shall compel the lawmakers and executives to give the American people the same privileges enjoyed by enlightened lands not under the oppressive rule of the "system."

WEST VIRGINIA: ANOTHER VICTIM OF THE
"SYSTEM" WHICH RESTS ON BRIBERY
AND IS SUBVERTING POPULAR
GOVERNMENT.

ON SEPTEMBER 19th, the *Evening Transcript*, the most ultra-conservative daily in Boston and a journal usually very sensitive when strictures are made against the great corporations and interests that prey on the public and corrupt the electorate, published a letter from its well-known Washington correspondent, Lincoln, a writer who is usually also very conservative and sensitive to the interests of the "system." This letter dealt with the political condition in West Virginia, and in it the correspondent described as a matter of history facts that when charged as existing at the time when the corporations were pouring millions of dollars into Hanna's strong-box to defeat Mr. Bryan, were savagely denied by the press holding briefs for the corporations in all our great cities. All students of popular government know full well that no true republic is possible which rests upon a

purchased electorate. Yet under the present "system," where party machines and corporate interests unite to gain office and privilege, city after city and state after state are being debauched and corrupted to such a degree that unless there is a speedy uprising of the people, led by the conscience-element in the nation, a renaissance of true democracy or republicanism will be as impossible by peaceable methods as would have been the securing of a constitutional government by peaceable means under the reign of the Bourbons.

Pennsylvania, through the union of such politicians as the late Boss Quay and the great railway, iron and coal interests, overthrew a pure and free electorate and enthroned corruption in government, while placing the people at the mercy of corporate despotism and oppression. The millions upon millions that are to-day being unjustly taken from the people by the coal-railways and trusts afford one illustration of the plunder of the public resulting from the "system" that obtains in America to-day and which is the fruit of the union of the political boss and partisan machine with corporations and special interests. This union is in effect one of the most dangerous forms of despotism. It is systematically lowering the *morale* of the people; it is corrupting the people's servants; it is defeating the ends of popular government; it is destroying reverence for law; and it is defrauding the millions of their rightful earnings that the few beneficiaries of the "system" may become inordinately rich or may through the wealth of one part of the "system" maintain office indefinitely.

From Pennsylvania Mr. J. E. O. Addicks journeyed forth, and the poison of Quayism soon infected Delaware. The debauching of this state forms one of the most sickening chapters in the history of our modern commonwealths; yet Addicks, reeking with the most notoriously-corrupt political record of any of the newer bosses, was chosen at Chicago instead of the representatives of the respectable Republicans, by the master-spirits of the Republican party, so completely is the party of Mr. Roosevelt a creature of the "system" of which Mr. Addicks is one of the most conspicuous representatives; and this man was made a National Committeeman. Thus the reign of bribery and corrupt practices was here given open encouragement by the Republican party. In this connection it is well to call to mind the nature of the work of this man whom the Republican party recognized in preference to the represen-

tatives of pure political methods. Mr. George Kennan, the famous author, traveler and journalist, in the *Outlook* for February 8, 1903, wrote as follows:

" . . . In the Camden district the chief Addicks' worker bought more than 200 votes, including 130 negroes out of the 134 registered. The market-price of votes in the morning was \$15, but it advanced to \$25 later in the day. Five thousand dollars was sent there hurriedly in the afternoon, as a special emergency-fund to buy votes. . . . In the Second Precinct of the Second Representative District of Sussex county, the Addicks men spent between \$9,000 and \$10,000 and bought 307 of their 401 votes."

A further illustration of how completely the Republican party has become a part of the "system" is found in the treatment accorded Governor LaFollette at the National Convention in Chicago. Though he and his representatives were selected by the regular State convention, they were turned down for the representatives of the machine and railroad interests; and now comes the news, set forth as a matter of course and as nothing that should create great astonishment, that fifteen counties in West Virginia are known to be "boodle counties." What has made them "boodle counties"? Privileged interests uniting with corrupt party-machines. The coal-barons and railroad-magnates have through corrupt methods destroyed republican government, according to the testimony of the trusted correspondent of the *Transcript*, which means in fact that West Virginia, like Pennsylvania and Delaware, has no longer a republican government, but has become the debauched tool of a despotism—the victim of the "system" operated by privileged interests and party-machines. In speaking of conditions in West Virginia the *Transcript* says:

"A well-known correspondent of an independent newspaper in this city, who has just returned from several weeks of political investigation in West Virginia, declares the outcome in that State extremely uncertain and apparently depending upon which side puts out the money on election day. One county of the fifty-five has asked the Republican State Committee for \$1,500 for immediate use and \$7,000 for election morning. At least fifteen other counties of the State are known to the managers of both parties as 'boodle counties,' it

usually takes so much money to carry them. The members of both parties have to be bought to vote their own ticket, both whites and negroes, and they explain their action by saying that the men who hold the offices have 'a good thing' and that it is only fair that some of the advantage should be passed around.

"Aside from this influence, the issues of the campaign seem to be running about evenly.

"The influence of the operators is very large, but in indirect ways, and the great corporations have enormous holdings in West Virginia."

Harper's Weekly, edited by Mr. George Harvey, one of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's right-hand men, is not only a staunch supporter of the Republican party and Mr. Roosevelt, but one of the most conspicuous representatives of the "system" in the United States. Yet it has recently made some significant admissions that show how state after state is being debauched by the money of privileged interests and corrupt political machines. In a recent editorial this paper said:

"Our present, practical diagnosis of the situation is that the chief danger to the Republican ticket lies in the big campaign-funds utilized successfully by Mr. Hanna in 1896 and 1900. Each year more than five millions of dollars were raised and expended. A good many of these dollars went, of course, for literature, clerical and oratorical expenses, etc., but a very fair percentage must have gone to 'workers.' There is no such direct vote-buying nowadays as there was when Indiana was split up into blocks of five, but there is no doubt that many, many thousands of tried and true citizens, who incidentally have the privilege of voting, were paid pretty liberally for the time they gave to the service of the Republican management in 1896 and 1900. Now every politician is awake to the danger of suddenly withdrawing rations previously supplied to this class of mercenaries. Resentment but mildly expresses their sentiment; revenge takes possession of their hearts, and is supplemented by a very practical determination to 'teach 'em a lesson.' How large the class is this year can not be estimated with accuracy by one not in possession of the private records of the recent campaigns, but it is pretty big and it is confined within the borders of states where every vote counts."

The above significant expressions from conservative papers which uphold the "system" should arouse the most slow-thinking to the imperative duty of a persistent educational agitation which shall break the power of the new despotism and overthrow the "system."

**A SIGNIFICANT POPULAR VICTORY IN
LOS ANGELES.**

LOS ANGELES, California, is, we think, the first American municipality to exercise the sovereign right of the people under a provision which in Switzerland is known as the Imperative Mandate or the Right of Recall. According to this important measure, which with the Initiative, Referendum and Proportional Representation has made Switzerland the most truly republican government in the world, the people reserve to themselves the right of recalling a public servant who proves recreant to his oath or to the trust reposed in him. On the demand of a certain number of voters such an official is compelled to vacate his seat, and a new election is held.

In the charter adopted some time since by the people of Los Angeles, the Initiative, Referendum, and this Right of Recall were incorporated. Subsequently, a councilman elected after the new charter had been ratified acted in a manner highly offensive to the constituency that had made him its servant. He had proved recreant to his trust, and the requisite number of signatures among the voters was obtained to the formal demand for his recall. The councilman, however, refused to obey the popular mandate, and appealed to the court on the ground that the act was unconstitutional. The court, however, sustained the validity of the provision, and a new representative has been called to fill the vacant seat.

This action is one of the most important and encouraging events that has happened in our American municipal life for years. It will hearten the friends of pure popular government everywhere. It, like the splendid success that has attended the operation of the Initiative and Referendum in Switzerland and in Oregon, points the way to a peaceable reclamation of government from grafters, the corrupt political rings, and party bosses, acting with corporate wealth for the spoliation of the people and the subversion of democracy.

We are indebted to Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy, one of our associate editors and President of

the National Direct-Legislation League, for the facts given in this editorial.

THE MARCH OF MAJORITY-RULE.

THERE is nothing in our political life to-day so well calculated to encourage the friends of free institutions as the steady growth of the movement for the establishment of the Initiative and Referendum and the securing of pledges from officials that in the event of election they will favor giving the people the opportunity to pass directly on measures of vital importance to the community; because this battle is being fought, as has been every conflict for justice and the larger rights of the people, in the face of the combined and powerful opposition of selfish and corrupt interests and of the old order. All the enemies of the fundamental demands of democracy, all the interests seeking to prey on the public, all the forces making for reaction and class-government, the corrupt party-bosses and the partisan machines, powerful by virtue of the enormous wealth they draw from special interests and privileged classes for betraying the community and the individual and turning over the people practically bound hand and foot to the rapacity of corporations and trusts, are a unit in openly or secretly opposing Direct Legislation. Yet in spite of the union of all these elements the people are gradually awakening to the fact that the hope of emancipation from the thrall of the corporations, the trusts and privileged interests, no less than the purging of government from the corruption which through the domination of these interests has already permeated the republic throughout all its ramifications, lies in the triumph of Direct Legislation through the initiative and referendum, by which the subversion of the republic through corporations and partisan machines can and will be rendered impossible. All that is now demanded, and this is imperatively called for, is the organization of Referendum Leagues or Majority-Rule Associations in every state and congressional district.

Almost every great victory for human progress and emancipation throughout the history of the ages has been achieved by a few men who were ready to consecrate time, means, and if need be, life, to the cause. And the call to-day is to this class in every community. How often in the history of the past a small, insignificant group, whose labors attracted little or no attention other than the scorn and derision

of the powerful ones, has inaugurated and carried forward revolutionary and reformatory measures which have rescued municipalities, states and nations from the grasp of evil and demoralizing conditions, even when redemption seemed almost hopeless. In the battle for popular rule Oregon has led the way, but other states are falling into line, while the people are everywhere receiving that preliminary education which makes the success of a good cause inevitable.

ILLINOIS' MONSTER REFERENDUM PETITION.

WHAT a few devoted people can accomplish for a vital cause when a reasonable amount of education has been carried on was impressively illustrated at Springfield on September 8th, when the Referendum League of Illinois filed with the Secretary of State a petition signed by 130,872 voters of Illinois, asking that the three following questions relating respectively to (1) direct primaries, (2) the people's veto, and (3) home-rule in taxation, be placed on the ballot and submitted to the electorate of Illinois at the election this month:

"Shall the State Legislature amend the Primary-Election Law so as to provide for party primaries at which the voter will vote under the Australian ballot directly for the candidate whom he wishes nominated by his party, instead of voting for delegates to convention or caucus; the primaries, throughout the entire district affected by the offices for which nominations are to be made, to be held by all the parties conjointly at the same time and polling places? This law not to prevent the nomination of candidates by petition as now provided.

"Shall the State Legislature pass a law enabling the voters of any county, city, village or township, by majority vote, to veto any undesirable action of their respective law-making bodies (except emergency measures) whenever five per cent. of the voters petition to have such action referred to popular vote? This law to apply only to such localities as may adopt the same.

"Shall the State Legislature submit to the voters of the State of Illinois at the next following State election an amendment to the State Constitution, which will enable the voters of any county, city, village or township of the State of Illinois to adopt such system of assess-

ing and levying taxes as the voters of any such county, city, village or township may determine?"

In order to legally bring these important questions before the voters it was necessary to obtain the signatures of one hundred thousand voters. This the Referendum League of Illinois set out to do and within three months it obtained the enormous number of 130,872 signatures of voters. This work represented the expenditure of much time and personal expense for the public good on the part of the little coterie who composed the active spirits in the League. It demanded the consecration which marks a high order of patriotism; but, as has been the case in every great victory for popular government where moral enthusiasm has taken possession of high-minded men pledged to a noble cause, their labors were crowned with success, and the citizens will this fall have the right to accept or reject these immensely important propositions. It is needless to say that every possible effort will be exerted by all the corrupt and powerful elements representing machine-rule in politics and the public-service corporations, as well as other privileged interests, to defeat these measures. If, however, the people are sufficiently awakened to the real situation, there will not be wealth enough in the enormously rich corporations or power sufficient in the hands of the political servants of special interests to defeat the three measures, all of which are clearly in the interests of popular government and the pure and democratic administration of the same.

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH AS A SUPPRESSOR OF DIRECT-LEGISLA- TION NEWS-MATTER.

WE SOME time since called the attention of our readers to the significant fact that when a judge of the lower court in Oregon decided against the constitutionality of the Direct-Legislation law of the State, the Western Associated Press heralded the fact far and wide in extended notices, while the great conservative dailies and weeklies which are owned by or beholden to the corporations and special privileged interests devoted columns to the subject, treating the whole matter as if it were settled. But later, when the Supreme Court of the State sustained the constitutionality of the law and delivered an opinion which proved to be

one of the most masterly and exhaustive state papers of recent years, in which the validity and constitutionality of the law was clearly established, the Associated Press failed to find the item of sufficient interest to make any special note of it. This significant omission was in keeping with similar lapses in its supposed functions when the unpublished news in question was inimical to the interests of powerful vested interests. One notable case, as we then pointed out, was the declination to give publicity to the news of the organization of the Philippine Independence Committee, which called forth the following significant words from so conservative a paper as the *New York Nation*:

"It is a little odd to read of the Associated Press congratulations on having induced the Czar to remove the censorship in Russia, at the very moment that this same news-gathering association declines at home to disseminate information of the highest significance. It refused to send out the news of the organization of the 'Philippine Independence Committee.' Yet the names of the gentlemen composing it are of such weight and distinction that anything they are united in advocating acquires thereby news-value. If President Eliot makes an address on labor at Boston, or writes of the government of Bar Harbor, the fact is immediately put on the wires; but when he and eight other college presidents, together with eminent clergymen, authors, and publicists, have something to say about Philippine independence, it immediately becomes of no consequence, and the news is 'killed.' Why, if those men were on a committee simply to dig a ditch, the fact would be eagerly published by every real newspaper in the land! If the formation of a powerful 'Philippine Independence Committee' is not news, then nothing is news. The upshot is to leave the Associated Press, by this refusal, in a kind of head-in-the-sand attitude, while the news gets circulated just the same."

One of the latest examples of the methods employed by the great news-disseminators to keep from the reading-public matters inimical to the continued rule of the public-service corporations, the trusts and the political machines was illustrated in the publication, in such papers as the *Baltimore American* and *Washington Post*, of an abridged letter from George H. Shibley, the well-known leader of the Majority-Rule movement, as though it were

his letter in full, but from which the important news item that the organized workers and many of the grangers had adopted the non-partisan programme for securing popular rule in the place of the rule of the political machines, was omitted. Below we give Mr. Shibley's letter declining the nomination for vice-president by the Continental party in full, printing the suppressed parts in *italics*:

"Dr. JAMES P. LYNCH, Chairman Notification Committee, Continental Party, Chicago, Ill.:

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"With the general objects of the Continental party I am in hearty accord. But I place the initiative and referendum as the dominant issue, for it is only through the establishment of this system that the people can overcome the monopolists and secure the desired legislation. The mistake of the Continental party, in my opinion, and the mistake of every third party in the field is in asking that it, an organization outside the Constitution and controlled by a committee (a "machine") shall be installed as ruler of the American people. *It is true that the platform includes a promise that the party machine, if placed in power, will abdicate by allowing the people to adopt a constitutional amendment for the peoples' veto and direct initiative, but not until it has legislated for several years. This is inconsistent, for elected representatives can immediately establish the people's sovereignty. Several of the present-day Congressmen and Senators are pledged to this programme in national affairs, while the system is demanded by practically the entire body of organized wage-earners, by many of the Grangers, and by Referendum Leagues. Furthermore, the mere questioning of legislative nominees by the non-partisan organizations and by individuals results in the pledging of all the candidates, thus winning the day and at once.* So why attempt to build another party to place more candidates in the field? Emancipation is within the people's grasp and in this year's campaign, if they will only question candidates. To foster this movement, I have devoted my time and energies for four years, and the ease and rapidity with which the movement has been and is progressing is an assurance that it is along the line of least resistance. The American Federation of Labor, with its 25,000 unions and two million members, also the Pennsylvania Grangers and other non-partisan organizations, are unitedly pushing this won-

der-working programme. My duty is to continue with them. Therefore I must decline the nomination for the high office tendered me by the Continental party.

"Thanking the party for the mark of confidence and trusting that my continued allegiance to the people's immediate emancipation from machine-rule will, on reflection, meet with the approval of the members of the party and cause them to center their efforts on the questioning of candidates, I am,

"Yours for the Peoples' Sovereignty,
(Signed.) "GEO. H. SHIBLEY.
"Washington, D. C., Labor Day, 1904."

The above illustrates the way in which natural monopolies operated by private corporations, and a press beholden to political machines and corporate interests are able to suppress news unfavorable to the special interests or obnoxious to party bosses and political machines, and of the way in which the interests of individuals and of the public suffer. Vitally important information is suppressed and public opinion is educated away from the old, true ideals of the republic and in the direction of reactionary theories which further the interests of class-rule and the mastery of the pluto-political system over popular rights and interests.

ERNEST CROSBY ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

MR. ERNEST CROSBY is well known to our readers not only as a valued contributor to *THE ARENA*, but also as the author of *Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable* and other virile and thought-stimulating works. After his college education, Mr. Crosby entered politics and was sent to the New York legislature as a Republican. Later he was appointed through the agency of President Harrison to the position of judge, in Cairo, Egypt, an important position which he filled with honor and ability. But coming under the influence of Count Tolstoi's teachings he felt as never before the lofty ethics of the Golden Rule and determined to devote his life to the advancement of man on the higher plane. He therefore resigned his position, visited Russia, returned to America, and has since been actively engaged in furthering the ends of the higher civilization. Those who know Mr. Crosby will be interested in his

views on the present political situation as given below in a recent interview in the *New York World*:

"The economic issues are absolutely overshadowed this year by the question of imperialism and militarism. It is impossible to devote serious attention to the great domestic question of the distribution of wealth while the public mind is distracted by the fireworks of foreign conquest and such pretty and expensive toys as a new navy; and it will be permanently impossible to settle this question in any other than an aristocratic and oligarchic way if we permit the final establishment of a system of dependencies across the sea inhabited by races condemned to political inferiority. Caste under the flag abroad means caste sooner or later at home.

"Mr. Roosevelt has deliberately made himself the incarnation of the spirit of militarism and imperialism. His idea of national greatness means nothing but physical strength, and for great ideas he would substitute a big navy. Freedom, equality, justice must all be subordinated to brute force. The change shows itself already on the surface of life in Washington. Uniforms and brass buttons, new-fangled military escorts, war talk and army manners are gradually making headway there as fast as circumstances permit. It is the kaiserism of the German Kaiser which seems to have roused the emulation of our President and his Cabinet, and kaiserism, with all that that word implies—Prussian junkerism, *lèse majesté*, enormous armaments, and all peaceful pursuits subordinated to military enterprise—that is the issue at the coming election.

"Judge Parker has spoken plainly on this subject. He believes in neighborly conduct between nations as between individuals. He is opposed to slave dependencies as well as to domestic slavery. We may be sure that he would have protested as President against the annihilation by Great Britain of the only two republics in Africa, and that he would never have been guilty of the assassination of the only Asiatic republic—that of the Filipinos—nor of the vivisection of our nearest sister republic in South America. He would lay aside the big stick and teach the native to behave like a gentleman. In a word, he would put an end to kaiserism, and I sincerely hope that he will have the opportunity."

AFFAIRS IN FOREIGN LANDS.

MEXICO'S PROGRESS UNDER JUST AND WISE STATESMANSHIP.

THE recent message of President Diaz, delivered at the convening of the Mexican Congress, indicated a condition of continued prosperity in the republic which is probably more largely the fruit of just government than of any other one cause. This message calls to mind the wonderful transformation that has been wrought in Mexico under the truly great statesmanship of Porfirio Diaz. Prior to the signal victories that marked the overthrow of Maximilian's government and of clerical domination, Mexico had been the theater of brutal oppression, of continued fierce outbreaks and of revolts marked on both sides by sanguinary and barbarous acts. The rulers had been for the most part despots whose security depended on their fidelity to the demands of the ambitious prelates and religious orders that were the masters of the millions through the power wielded by the church.

Injustice in high places begets lawlessness and injustice among the people, and Mexico was a land of brigands and robbers. Her mountains were infested by powerful bands of outlaws. Her people were the victims of ignorance, superstition and oppression. Most of those who headed the revolts were daring and masterful minds of the medieval order. They were swashbucklers who were consumed with ambition for personal mastership and who, if successful, quickly fell into the grooves of the existing system and by proving complacent to the demands of the clericals were permitted to rule. True, there were exceptions,—noble patriots and lofty-minded priests. Such a one was Hidalgo, as true a heart as ever fought for the cause of human rights and a juster order. Hidalgo was a John the Baptist crying in the wilderness of superstition and priestly domination. He fired the people with a passion for justice and a larger life. He broadened their horizon and quickened their moral and mental sensibilities. He achieved great things for the cause of human progress in Mexico. But though a priest, he preached a degree of freedom and intellectual emancipation that alarmed and incensed the church, and

the words he spoke for justice enraged the oppressive despotism under which the nation groaned. Hence the power of church and state was put forth against him and he was slain, but not until he had stirred the hearts of the people with a great new hope and rendered forever impossible continued contented acquiescence in oppression, such as the clergy had so long preached.

So although despotism, bulwarked by a church necessary to it, continued to oppress the people, the seeds of democracy sown by Hidalgo and others took root in the public mind; and when the great revolt came which eventuated in the victory of the republican cause, the people hailed the leaders with passionate joy. These leaders were far-seeing statesmen with something of the spirit of Cromwell. They realized, and especially was this true of Porfirio Diaz, that if the church remained as it had been it would soon foment a reactionary revolution which would overthrow the republic, for every monastery was a hot-bed of reaction. Moreover, Diaz and his brother Masons believed that the abuses that existed in the institutions and orders no less than the hostility of the brotherhoods to the republic demanded the abolition of the monasteries and convents throughout Mexico. Accordingly they were destroyed root and branch and placed under the ban of law; and thus in a country where ninety per cent. of the people were Catholics, a liberal government was installed. Marriage was made an affair of state and church ceremonies were not recognized as legal by the republic. At that time the ignorance of the people was only eclipsed by their misery, and the nation, as we have observed, was thronged with bandits, robbers and lawless citizens.

Diaz set about to better the condition of the people, to bring order out of chaos, and to establish justice as well as law. The story of the rise of Mexico to a commanding place in the sisterhood of nations, when written, will be one of the most fascinating pages of modern history—a page that will show how true statesmanship actuated by a desire for justice and the public weal, wrought wonders under conditions that seemed to preclude the possibility of

more than meager success. In time the most lawless part of North America became one of the most, if not the most law-abiding region in the New World. The mountain fastnesses, so long the rendezvous of bandits, are to-day far safer places than many mountainous regions of our own country. In our travels in Mexico, in city, country and mountains, we saw less lawlessness than in our own country, and the content of the people and their admiration for President Diaz was most impressive, yet by no means strange; for Diaz, though autocratic, has always been just, and always has he placed the weal of the people above all other considerations. He was far-seeing enough to understand the vitally important fact that it was all one in the last analysis, or in its influence on the people, whether they were oppressed by an absolute ruler, like an emperor or a czar, bulkwarked by a church, or by a king aided by a hereditary aristocracy, or whether the oppression sprang from the exercise of autocratic power by religious orders, such as the friars, who drove the Filipinos into revolt and who were so obnoxious to the Mexicans under the old régime, or from special interests successfully working through an alliance with government for the mutual protection and aid of politicians and corporations, in an effort to retain power and exploit and oppress the people. And he determined that none of these evils should obtain in Mexico. He determined to make the welfare of the people the supreme object of the State; and herein lies the secret of his marvelous success. He never allowed creatures of the State, like privileged monopolies, public-service corporations or bodies of any kind or character to become more powerful than the State, nor did he allow any partnership with corporations for the exploitation of the people.

One example of Diaz's statesmanship which is characteristic will enable us to understand why he is so trusted and loved by the people. This occurred a short time before we visited Mexico. The facts are briefly as follows: There had been a comparative failure of the corn crop in the Mexican republic, and the very poor of the country subsist almost entirely on corn and beans. A group of speculators, seeing an opportunity to get rich at the expense of the people, made a corner in corn and the price soared up so high that the poor were in a starving condition. Immediately President Diaz suspended the tariff on corn with the United States, with a view to breaking the

monopoly, but the speculators had the market well in hand and succeeded in keeping up the price. Then the President convened the Congress and at the same time suggested to the Mexico Central Railway that it should carry all the corn which the government should purchase to relieve the condition of the poor, at the cost of transportation from El Paso to the City of Mexico. Now the railroads in Mexico which are not owned by the State do not assume to dictate to the republic. They hold the government in wholesome respect, and when Diaz, who knew the cost to the road of the transportation per car-load, suggested that they carry it at the cost price instead of at the exorbitant rate usually charged, he met with prompt acquiescence. When Congress convened the President sent a message setting forth the wrongs that were being committed against the people and which were resulting in extreme suffering among the very poor, and suggested the passage of an act authorizing the government to purchase from the United States such an amount of corn as was necessary, and the selling of it below cost if necessary, to bring down the market price to the normal figure and thus relieve the suffering. Congress promptly passed the proposed measure and the corn was bought, the suffering was relieved, and the interests of the people conserved.

This incident is typical and shows how the people fare where their interests are placed before the interests of classes.

DARK DAYS IN RUSSIA.

THE destruction of Russia's naval strength in the East has been followed by heavy reverses on land, and the valiant Kuropatkin, who on leaving Russia so cheerily predicted his victorious march which was to result in driving the Japanese army into the sea and in the Russians crossing to Japan, marching over the territory of the Mikado and dictating the terms of peace in Tokio, has been beaten back toward the north-land. England has not only undone in Tibet all that Russia has achieved in the land of the Llama, but has apparently checkmated the well-laid plans of the Czar's government in that part of Asia; while with a constantly lessening awe of Russia entertained by the Oriental peoples, owing to her defeats on land, sea and in the field of diplomacy, the affairs of Russia beyond the confines of her legitimate territory have been marked by disaster and humiliation at every turn.

But great as have been the reverses abroad, they are far less ominous than the perils that confront the bureaucracy at home,—a fact which Russia herself at last seems to be beginning to realize, from the liberal tone of the deliverances of the new Minister of the Interior, which would indicate that Russia is preparing to propitiate the Jews in the hope that she may thereby be able to negotiate some future loans and also check as far as possible, without giving the people any of the real benefits of free government, the rising tide of discontent within her borders.

The war is costing her over two million dollars a day; her national credit is being strained, her commercial activities have been greatly retarded and in some directions completely paralyzed. Interior conditions indicate general stagnation in many sections. This is notably the case in Odessa, where the alarming paralysis of trade, partly due, it is true, to failure of crops in a region usually very prolific, is already resulting in great distress. Moreover, the withdrawing from productive employment of vast bodies of men is naturally exercising a demoralizing influence upon the body-politic, just as Jean de Bloch stated would be the case. Leading correspondents from Russia to the principal western European papers point out the significant fact that business men are finding it almost impossible to meet their obligations. Banks are pressing their creditors. It is difficult to obtain discounts for the best business paper at even ten and eleven per cent. Another ominous symptom is the indifference of a large number of the people to the course of the war and the hostility manifested in various localities to the government. The recent order for the mobilization of the reserves has led to trouble in many sections which reveals in a startling manner how little a large proportion of the people sympathize with the Czar. In Kherson, Ekaterinoslav and Bessarabia, no less than fourteen thousand reservists are missing. Seventeen officers were recently arrested in the Kieff district for disaffection, and peasants and artisans are in many instances ignoring the summons to mobilize.

True, Russia continues her policy of boastful arrogance. We are told that before long six hundred thousand men will be in arms in Manchuria fighting under the banner of the Czar; but few people will take these threats as serious in the light of the facts involved. It would be many a day, even if Russia had the soldiers who were eager for the fray, and means

ample to maintain so enormous a force five thousands miles from her base of supplies, before it would be possible for her to transport so large an army, to say nothing of the arms, munition and food whose conveyance would also be necessary.

Moreover, on every hand there are evidences of the activity of the revolutionary party. In a very interesting paper which recently appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, Carl Joubert declares that the various revolutionary parties in Russia, representing all shades of views, from those who would be satisfied with a constitutional form of government under the Czar, to those who would forcibly overthrow the present order, are controlled by one executive committee. If this writer's statements are authentic the outlook for the continuance of the present corrupt and crushing despotism is far less certain than superficial appearances would seem to warrant. According to him, Russia is honey-combed with revolutionists. The army is full of them, and not a few of the number are officers high in the service of the Czar. The ramifications of the revolutionary party extend throughout all strata of society within the empire, while their active centers are found in every country where there is a considerable number of Russians. The author believes that the organization is so complete and in such able hands that under conditions that are now in operation successful revolution is something to be confidently anticipated.

It may be that the liberal course foreshadowed by the new Minister of the Interior will delay the day of settlement. Otherwise the probabilities are that revolutionary outbreaks will follow closely on the heels of the close of the war, if indeed they do not occur before the cessation of hostilities in the far East.

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL DESPOTISM IN RUSSIA.

DURING the troublous days that preceded the American Revolution, the King's officers and the Tory element in America were constantly confounded and nonplussed by finding their secret plans frustrated and forestalled by the Sons of Liberty. Even the oppressive edicts of the throne, about which great secrecy had been preserved in England and of which it was supposed that only the most loyal Tories and reactionaries were cognizant, were frequently in the possession of the leading American patriots immediately after the arrival of

the ships bearing the odious decrees: and before it was possible for the governors to act the patriots had formed their plans and taken initiatory steps to combat the oppressive measures. So in France, before the revolution, Paris was continually flooded with revolutionary leaflets which the police would vigorously hunt down and destroy, but with the recurring dawn a fresh harvest would be found. And so it has ever been in periods of oppression and injustice where people possess some education and where the spirit of liberty and justice still burns in the heart of man. Furthermore, the longer and more odious the oppression, the more the leaven of revolt spreads through all strata of society and the brighter burn the fires of liberty.

At the present time this fact is particularly noticeable in Russia, where the heavy hand of political despotism is supplemented by the merciless hand of religious oppression, and where the government crushes all wholesome out-croppings of that spirit of justice and freedom which marks real progress and human development. The long night-time of absolutism and brutalizing despotism has filled all strata of society with a passionate yearning for a change, and in spite of the argus-eyed police and the vast system of espionage, the various crimes of the government and its zealots, the doings and sayings of the friends of humanity that keep the fires lighted on the altar of Liberty, even in Russia, and the secrets of the bureaux and the law-courts, all alike in some mysterious manner find their way to all the centers of revolutionary activity, as has been the case in periods immediately preceding all great revolutionary uprisings. It is a fact frequently commented upon, that the leading spirits in the Russian bureaucracy are constantly enraged and chagrined at finding the things which they hoped were absolutely unknown to the friends of freedom, in the possession of the revolutionary centers in Paris, London, Geneva and elsewhere where Russian patriots are found.

A striking and interesting illustration of this character was recently seen in Geneva, where in the mysterious way so exasperating to the upholders of despotism, the Russian revolutionaries became possessed of the complete testimony of Professor Michael von Reussner, which was given at a recent trial for high treason held at Königsberg. The eminent Russian, who has for years been professor of public law at Tomsk and who is a member of the orthodox

church, was summoned for the defence. His testimony revealed the omnipotent character of the despotism that prevails in Russia. The cable summary of the sworn statement of this eminent savant contained the following, which will help the general reader to understand why, in spite of the terrible punishments that are ruthlessly dealt out to young and old alike who are suspected of loving humanity and the cause of freedom better than their lives, the spirit of revolt is everywhere permeating society in the land of the Czar. In Russia, as in America and in France prior to the revolutionary epoch, the secret friends of freedom are found in all strata of society and in all positions. In his testimony Professor Reussner declared that:

"There exists in Russia no right of religious creed. It is forbidden to secede from the orthodox church. Even the change from one sect to another is only allowed by special permission of the Home Secretary. A conversion to one of the German Protestant sects entails also the loss of all rights and transportation to Siberia. To leave the Graeco-Catholic Church entails also the loss of the right to educate one's own children. The clerical authorities can imprison any suspect for life in a cloister; for, at the side of the administrative procedure of transportation there is a similar privilege of the Church."

"As to the press," Professor Reussner stated, "the Home Secretary can at any time prohibit the sale of a paper, or forbid it to discuss certain questions. Various ministers and the Procurator of the Holy Synod can suppress a journal at any moment. There is a Church censorship, a military censorship, a censorship for public libraries, a special censorship for popular libraries. Any meeting whatsoever can always be prohibited by the police. Even judicial sentences can be altered by simple administrative measure."

"Students have, as a punishment, been put into the army for life, irrespective of their being sick or cripples. Emigration without permission is punished by confiscation of property."

"A right of petition," the expert stated in conclusion, "does not exist. The change in the constitution of Finland, without the assent of the Diet, was a State-stroke, an open violation of the constitution. When two students had been flogged by the police at Tomsk I went to Petersburg, but could not obtain justice from the Minister. The judicial inquiry was conducted by the commander of the

gendarmerie, Wahl. Thereupon I resigned my position, but am still in possession of the Order of St. Andrew."

THE GREAT LIBERAL CONGRESS THAT RECENTLY CONVENED IN ROME.

THE Free-Thinkers' Congress, held at Rome on September 20th, was one of the most notable gatherings of the kind ever held. Certainly it was the greatest liberal congress that has convened in recent years. There were over five thousand delegates present, the Frenchmen alone numbering one thousand. One of the surprising spectacles was the presence of three hundred delegates from Spain; they were all staunch adherents of the republican idea of government. The gathering was remarkable for the high order of intelligence represented. Many of the foremost thinkers of the time were among the delegates. Professor Haeckel, of the University of Jena, represented the Germans. Professor Berthelot, the distinguished French savant, was too ill to attend, but sent an address which was read by Professor Buisson of the Sorbonne. Among the ten delegates from America the eminent author and essayist, Moncure D. Conway, was probably the best known.

The convention was held at the Roman College, erected by Pope Gregory XIII., and the date of the convention was the anniversary of the fall of the temporal power of the Pope. Great emphasis was placed by Professor Sergi, who presided over the deliberations, on the fall of the temporal power and the triumph of science over superstition. After the convention the delegates marched in procession to that part of the wall of Rome where the Italian

troops in 1878 made the breach and entered the city. There they placed wreaths in honor of the victory which they held to signify so much in the onward march of civilization.

ART, IDEALISM AND PROGRESSIVE CIVIC SPIRIT IN GERMAN MUNICIPALITIES.

SEVERAL Americans who have recently traveled extensively in Germany have expressed their wonder and admiration at the civic spirit present in various towns and cities. They point out the fact that the rise of commercialism that has placed Germany among the first commercial powers of the world, instead of being attended by a deadening of the moral ideals, as has been the case with us, has been accompanied by a quickening of that noble idealism which by fostering art, the drama and literature adds to the comfort and happiness of the individual and promotes the civic spirit. Throughout the empire they find a progressive municipal spirit that is vigorously pushing forward various plans for the beautifying and improving of the towns and cities. Men of means on every hand are vying with each other in their efforts to promote the comfort happiness and well-being of the whole community. This condition is said to be due largely to centers or organizations of high-minded citizens who keep the pride of the people stimulated by educating them to take an active interest in their government and to demand for the municipality high-minded, honest and unselfish service. It would also seem that Germany is as yet little cursed with the reign of graft, due to the rule of corporations through the aid of the political bosses, which prevails with us.

SCIENCE AND DISCOVERY IN THE VEGETABLE WORLD.

FEEDING FOOD-PLANTS WITH CHEMICAL AGENTS DEMANDED BY THE HUMAN SYSTEM.

IT MATTERS not in what direction one turns, utilitarian science is seen achieving wizard-like results for the health, comfort and happiness of man, laying the foundations for an ideal state when humanity shall be wise and great enough to be just. One of the most recent interesting achievements has been at-

tained by the Agricultural Biological Station of Vienna, where by adding hydrate of iron to the soil in which spinach seeds are planted the experimentors have succeeded in making the amount of iron in the plants grown in the prepared soil seven times as great as in the plants grown in soil without the iron. This chemical is of course recognized as one of the very important agents in the human body, indicated in anemia and general diminution of physical vitality. Yet the administration of this agent

in its mineral form has never proved wholly satisfactory, owing to the fact that it does not agree well with many stomachs and is rarely assimilated to the extent desired. But it is readily taken up and appropriated by the human organism after it has passed through the laboratory of nature in the vegetable world. From the results obtained it would seem that the amount of iron might in the same manner be increased in various other vegetables as well as in fruits which carry this chemical. Moreover, if iron can be thus incorporated into our food it would seem that other chemicals, such as manganese, might also be utilized in the same way to aid humanity in its quest for life and health. The field opened up by this victory is large, promising and almost revolutionary in its possibilities.

A REMARKABLE POTATO THAT PROMISES
TO GIVE US ANOTHER IMPORTANT
FOOD-PRODUCT.

The discovery of a potato that promises to become an important addition to our staple food-products was made a few years ago by Professor Heckel, director of the Colonial Institute of Marseilles, France. This new tuber flourishes on the banks of the Mercedes, in

Uruguay. Its botanical name is *Solanum commersonii*. In its wild state the tuber is quite bitter, especially near the skin, but under cultivation it is being transformed more rapidly than was the tomato. Indeed, after two years of cultivation by Professor Heckel, ten plants out of twenty-five retained so little of the bitter flavor as to be quite edible, and five out of the ten were very good. This proves that under careful cultivation and selection we may soon confidently expect to have a delightful new potato that on account of its great productivity, the size of the tubers and its apparent immunity from the enemies of our common potato, will prove an important staple product. These tubers weigh from one to two and one-half pounds, and under favorable circumstances the product will yield 8,500 pounds to the acre, against 3,000 pounds yield of our best potatoes under favorable circumstances. Horses, cattle and sheep eat its foliage with avidity, and its tubers are equally enjoyed by animals, even the bitter ones being devoured with evident relish. The blossoms are of a pale violet hue and are very fragrant. If experiments in this country show as favorable results as those obtained in France, the Irish potato, it is thought, will have a formidable rival in the *Solanum commersonii*.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Life and Teachings of Abbas Effendi. By Myron H. Phelps. Cloth. Pp. 259. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

I. A NEW RELIGION IN THE ORIENT.

THE Orient is the natural home of the mystic. The lands of the Indus and the Euphrates, of the Lake of Galilee and the Jordan, are the natural cradles of mighty religions that have colored the thought, given wings to the aspirations, and shaped the lives of untold millions, and that to-day hold in thrall the imagination of the civilizations of both the Orient and the Occident.

In the far East or the Orient are found the lands of contemplation, meditation and introspection; of metaphysics, speculative philosophy and profound musings relating to the phenomena of life and death, the meaning of man, the hidden springs of life, the mystery of being, the problem of the hereafter, and the direction in which the wings of destiny are bearing the human soul.

Sometimes in one land, sometimes in another, there have arisen great leaders—men who for the most part have lived austere lives—men who have been overmastered by thoughts and convictions that they believed to be divine and life-giving truths from the Infinite Source of Life and Love. Zoroaster in Persia, Lao-tsze in China, Guatama, the noble Buddha, in India, the peerless Nazarene in Palestine, Mohammed in Arabia, and lastly the new Oriental prophet who claims to be a manifestation of the Divine, Beha Ullah, once of Persia, later of Akka, each in turn founded a religion and called to its tenets multitudes who have sought to solve the riddle of the ages. And in all these religions as they have come to us may be found light and shade. Some are more resplendent with truth, more full-orbed and soul-nourishing than others; yet what meets the demand of some fails to satisfy the cravings of others, and in sweeping the vista of the past and contemplating the result of the mighty

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

systems of religions, we are reminded of those beautiful lines which Tennyson places in the mouth of the great Mogul Emperor Akbar, who lived in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

" . . . There is light in all,
And light, with more or less of shade, in all
Man-modes of worship."

These thoughts have been suggested on reading a deeply interesting work by Myron H. Phelps, dealing with the life and teachings of Beha Ullah and Abbas Effendi, the two master-spirits in the newest of the Oriental religions—a religion that was first promulgated in Persia during the meridian period of the nineteenth century, and which, according to Mr. Phelps, already claims ten thousand martyrs and whose tenets are accepted by several millions of souls. We are inclined to think Mr. Phelps may be greatly misled in regard to the number of adherents to the new belief, as there seems to be no accurate data to rely on, and the Oriental imagination is prone to exaggerate. Still it is certain that the new belief, in spite of the terrible persecutions which have been meted out to its disciples, has taken a powerful hold upon the Eastern mind, where, as with us, there seems to be great uneasiness and general dissatisfaction with the orthodox belief. The people are crying for living truths, for a religion that shall take hold of the heart and transform life; and every great teacher who can reasonably satisfy the intelligence and who also appeals in a moving manner to the spiritual energies, is sure of a large following.

II. SOME PECULIARITIES OF THE NEW RELIGION.

The teaching of the two great leaders, Beha Ullah and Abbas Effendi, father and son, has much in it in common with the best of other beliefs, and in one particular at least it is superior to the great religions of earlier times, and that is in its catholicity. On this point Mr. Phelps observes:

"Another characteristic of Beha'ism, as refreshing and attractive as it is striking to the mind accustomed to the dogmatic narrowness of the modern Christian Church, is its marvelous spirit of liberality. It recognizes every other religion as equally divine in origin with itself. It professes only to renew the message formerly given by the Divine Messengers who founded those religions, and which has been more or less forgotten by men. If revelations have differed it has only been in degree, determined in the several cases by the differing capacities of men in different stages of human development to receive them. No man is asked to desert his own faith; but only to look back to its fountainhead and discern, through the mists and accumulations of time, the true spirit of its founders."

"On its ethical side," observes our author, "it has as high moral standards as any of the other great religions; while the social regulations which it advocates are certainly more enlightened than those which have generally been put forward in the name of religion."

The sketch of the life of the father and son who have been the chief expounders of the new religion is admirably given, for the most part, in a simple narrative by the sister of Abbas Effendi, supplemented by facts from other sources and incorporated by the author of the work.

III. THE CHARACTER OF THE LEADERS.

Whatever one may think of the new religion—and contrary to Mr. Phelps' idea, we doubt much whether it will obtain any great hold on the Occidental mind—it would seem that Beha Ullah, the father, who died in 1892, lived a noble, austere and simple life well calculated to attract and win men and women hungering for a religion that showed its faith in a loftier and truer life, while the persecutions patiently endured naturally served to endear him to the faithful and to draw others to him. The son, Abbas Effendi, seems to have followed in the footsteps of his father. The lives of both preclude the idea that at any time they were other than profoundly convinced of the truth of their teachings—convinced that they had a mission from the Divine and that the trust confided to them was of the most sacred character.

IV. RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL IDEALS.

In the chapter on the philosophy and psychology of Beha'ism the author thus sums up

the conception held by the followers of this new religion concerning Deity:

"The Beha'i conception of the Supreme Being is not a personality, but an Essence, an all-pervading Force or Power, frequently referred to as Love, or Truth, or Life. 'God,' says Abbas Effendi, 'is pure essence, and cannot be said to be anywhere or in any place. God is infinite, and, as terms are finite, the nature of God cannot be expressed in terms. But as man must form and express a conception of God in some way, he calls God 'Love' or 'Truth' because these are the highest things he knows. Life is eternal; so man, to express God's infinity, says that God is 'Life.' But these things in themselves are not God. God is the Source of all things that are made, and all things that are, are mirrors reflecting His Glory.'

"The universe exists for the purpose of individualizing the Infinite Absolute and Eternal Essence; that is, for the purpose of creating in that Essence centers of consciousness and intelligence which shall know themselves and know It or God. The instrument of this creation is the material universe, and the process is evolution. Spirit is an emanation from God; but it is simple, undifferentiated, unorganized. Spirit must be developed or evolved by a vast course of evolution in contact with matter, by means of the experiences thereby gained, until the emotional, mental and reasoning faculties and powers are developed in it. Self-consciousness follows from the association of spirit evolving these powers with individual human forms. These centers of emotion, intelligence, reason, and self-consciousness are capable, in due course, of union with, or transfer to, the pure Absolute Essence, whereby the ultimate end of the evolutionary process is attained."

In the chapter dealing with the ethics of this new religion we are told:

"The life of all men is a single Divine emanation. They should therefore hold to each other the closest relation of sympathy, love and brotherhood. This must be the way the matter looks when seen from the Divine standpoint—from the standpoint of the Divine rays which are the souls of men. Any other attitude on the part of the human consciousness must cause disharmony between man and God; must, in fact, constitute an insuperable barrier to man's Divine possibilities."

"Each man is bound up with his fellows. Their welfare should be his concern no less than his own.

"*Khodah* and *Mohabbet*, God and Love, are the words always in their mouths. Love is the very essence of the nature of God. By love alone can man approach God; and love for God is no other than love for man. The service of man is its highest expression. Love, kindness, unselfishness, compassion, are the direct path to the soul and to God.

"Love for men," says Abbas Effendi, "is love for God. To serve men is to serve God. My sign is this—that I serve the people, that I clothe the people."

"By 'men' and 'people' are meant all men and all people no less than those of one's own land or faith.

"It follows from this law of love and brotherhood that evil should not be met with evil, but with good; that is, there should be no resentment or retaliation—the injury is to be forgiven and forgotten.

"But Christ, when he advised that if a man be struck upon one cheek, he turn the other, was advancing a rule of conduct which should govern the every-day relations between individuals. His words are not to be taken literally, but as enjoining that there should be no resentment or retaliation for injuries received. By retaliating in kind, you will act as evilly as the wrong-doer. You should conquer hatred by love. If you meet with kindness him who injures you, you may overcome his stubborn spirit. The love of God will then come to him, and he will become a changed man.

"No Divine Messenger," says Abbas Effendi, "ever encouraged strife, or suggested that the sword be used in promulgating his teachings. When followers of Christ or Mahomet have resorted to this means of spreading their faith, imagining that they were justified by the words of their Master, they have mistaken the symbols of his teaching for its reality and have done that which he had, in fact, forbidden. This misinterpretation was due to their own ignorance and degradation. All the great Teachers are from God, and teach the same thing; the differences in the results which have followed from their teachings have been due to the varieties of character—the degrees of ignorance or knowledge, of materiality or spirituality—of mankind.

"Of what avail is contention as to what is truth? In the contention God is lost. Intellectual refinements are of no avail without the godly life."

These extracts will give the reader some idea of the philosophical concepts and the spirit of this latest claimant to a place among the world's great religions.

To tell the story of the leader's life, or to even outline the philosophy, psychology and ethics of the new religion in anything like a comprehensive manner would far exceed the limits of the space at our command. Those, however, who are interested in the subject will find Mr. Phelps' work a lucid and fascinating volume by a thoughtful man who has become convinced that the new religion has a message worth the while for civilization at its present stage of advancement.

The Trail to Boyland. By Wilbur Nesbit. Cloth. Pp. 162. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is an unambitious volume of verse, one of those sane, wholesome, restful and delightful books which minister to the idealistic yearning of the heart and brain of the common life in an age when extreme utilitarianism and a general commercialistic materialism have too frequently blunted, deadened and all-but-destroyed the fine, sensitive, poetic and idealistic elements of our being which are to the human what the rare blossom and exquisite fragrance are to the rose. The verse in the volume is of the kind for which the poet Longfellow voiced the cry of the cosmic heart when in his delightful little waif, *The Day Is Done*, he calls for

"Some simple and heartfelt lay
That shall quiet this restless feeling
And banish the thoughts of day."

Many of the poems, as the title of the book would indicate, deal with boyhood, though there are several narratives in verse, some dialect poems, and not a few sermons in song—little waifs that impress a fine thought in homely yet rhythmic phrasing. The poems of childhood are particularly pleasing and will tend to refresh the mind and throw into the tired brain where idealism yet lives the light and music of other days. Indeed, it is wonderful how a line or the mental imagery it may call forth acts like a magician's wand in summoning pictures of other days, transporting

one into the romance-world of childhood, which was once the real world of one's own experience, and one sees again the glory of the sunset and the majesty of the storm. One inhales the exquisite perfume of the wild crab-apple and the fragrance of the clover. Ah! for most of us, we think, there is a witching spell brooding over the sunlit morning-time of childhood that tends to render indistinct the gloomy hours and experiences. But be that as it may, the contemplation of childhood's happy moments brings rest and invigoration to the mind, because it gives wings to the imagination; it appeals to the idealism in our nature; it touches the poet in our being, and this is most necessary to our present-day life, for idealism is the fountain of national youth. It is to the soul of a man, of a nation or of a civilization what oxygen is to the physical body of the animal. So long as idealism dominates life, morality and the finer sensibilities holds sway. When the sordid, the materialistic and the utilitarian become the mainsprings of action, life is marked by a steady decline. To come into rapport with our author and his views one has only to read the following stanzas entitled "The Boyheart":

"The boyheart! The boyheart! It lies within
in your breast,
All ready to go leaping when your soul is at
its best—
When on the street there comes to you a
whistle or a call,
Or but the echo of a song whose happy meas-
ures fall
Upon the chords of memory, and rouse them
into life
Until they send a surging thrill as rich as
drum or fife!
The boyheart! The boyheart! It may be
but a rose
That nods in careless glee at one as idly on he
goes;
But instantly he sees a street that wanders up
and down
Between the sleepy fences of the quiet little
town;
Or maybe 't is a country road where swaying
branches spread
And build an arching canopy of beauty over-
head.

The boyheart! The boyheart! Pray that
you have it yet!
A-many times its tugging thrills will leave
your eyelids wet;

A-many times its sudden beats will set your
blood aflame
When out of all the other years will come a
whispered name;
A-many times you 'll walk the ways you
wandered when a lad,
If God has but been good to you and left the
heart you had."

And here are some companion-lines from a
waif entitled "The Trail to Boyland":

"Where the maple leaves are yellow
And the apples plump and mellow,
And the purple grapes are bursting with their
rich autumnal wine,
And the oak leaves redly flaming—
All the blaze of sunset shaming—
Is a trail that idly wanders to a land of yours
and mine.

It goes through the grassy hollows
And across the hills; it follows
All the playful turns and curvings of the ever-
singing streams;
Overgrown with tangled grasses,
All the olden haunts it passes
Till it fades into a vista that is cherished in our
dreams.

So it stretches and it glistens,
Far away—and he who listens
Hears the echo of the hailings and the murmur
of a song
That comes through the silence throb-
bing—
Half with laughter, half with sobbing—
Till it clutches at the heart-strings and would
hold them overlong.

"T is the trail—the Trail to Boyland—
How it spans the miles to joyland!
Passing leafy lane and blossom-tangled vine,
and bush and tree,
Coaxing bees till they, in coming,
Fill the hush of noon with humming—
And the wonderous way to Boyland stretches
fair for you and me!"

Not a few of the poems are noteworthy for
their realistic reminiscences. Take, for ex-
ample, the following real gem entitled "Honey-
Haunted":

"Doc Stewart's bees—they knew the town
As well as any boy of us.
They searched the gardens up and down;
They—bee-like—were industrious.

Their honey—Oh, the tang it had!—
As mellow as the richest wine
Which holds no dream that is not glad—
A soothing sweetness, fair and fine.

The old-time honey! Amber-hued
And syrupy—and how it clung
As though the bees in sleepy mood
Had loitered where the poppies swung!
And how its pungent perfume filled
The air, whenever it was spread,
As if some jocund elf had spilled
The glory of a flower-bed!

Why, you could shut your eyes and taste
The wild red roses by the mill,
And mark the way the bees had traced
The clover-blooms beyond the hill;
And there were hints of violets
And honeysuckles; lilacs, too,
Had paid their lavish honey-debts
And left their fragrance floating through.

The old-time honey! Who has sung
Of sweeter memories than this?
A rarer morsel on the tongue
Has never filled the heart with bliss,
It held the songs of summer days,
And whisperings of scented trees—
Down boyhood's unforgotten ways
There comes the croon of Stewart's bees."

In "Hickory Nuttin'" we have a picture that to many of us who were raised in the Middle West will be almost photographic in its fidelity to experiences that stand out in the perspective of the by-gone years:

"The bes' time in the year for boys is when
it's hickory nuttin'—
There's been a frost an' all the hulls is
openin' an' shuttin'
An' winkin' at the squirrels that just jumps
round an' chatters
An' scoots about a mile away when 'plop!'
a big nut clatters.
Us boys is glad on Saturdays—we're off of
all our studies.
I would n't trade my fun that day for yours or
anybody's!
You get a good two-bushel sack an' sling it on
your shoulder
An' wear your mittens an' your scarf—ma
says it will get colder—
An' then you strike out on the pike until you
cross the river—
We used to go in swimmin' there. Ooh!
Makes a fellow shiver!"

From there you cut across the fields; it
does n't take a minute
Until you see a shaggy tree, an' then—why,
then you're in it!

The shaggy tree's the shellbark kind; there
ain't a nut that beats it,
I do n't care where you get it at, nor when a
fellow eats it.

But butternuts is purty good; it ain't so hard
to shake 'em,
An' then there's hazel-nuts around an' us
boys always take 'em.
So purty soon you get your sack filled plumb
up to the middle,
An' when you shake it there's a tune that's
better than a fiddle.

You do n't go home the way you come; you
cut across by Tucker's,
An' strike a ripe persimmon tree, an' fill your
lips with pucker;
An' mebbe there's some dried-up grapes—
the wild kind—still a-clingin'
Upon the frost-bit vines along the river-banks
a-swingin';
But then you haf to climb a fence; that sack
sets you a-reelin',
It bumps you in the back, an' where you have
a hungry feelin'.

So you start home across the farms, the weed
an' stubble crackin'—
You playin' you're a Injun an' that it's a
bear you're trackin';
Afore you know how late it is the edge o'
town you've sighted,
An' get all empty inside when you see the
street-lamps lighted.
You never feel the heavy sack when you walk
home, a-struttin'
The bes' time in the year for boys is when it's
hickory-nuttin'."

Of the dialect verse the following is a fair example:

"T is a week pehint Christmas undt all droo
der house
Der chilrents iss keebing so shy like a mouse;
Dey vatch py der windows to see ven I come,
Undt ven I am in, dey are saying: 'Keep
mum!'
Chust like I can't hear dem undt like I do n't
see—
Dose chilrents iss making Kriss Kringles for
me.

Dere's liddle Katrina—she asks me so schweet
If I do n't like shlippers to go by my feet,

Undt vedder id's nicer if dey has some bows
Of ribbon to make dem some style on der toes.
Undt now she iss sewing as hart as can be—
Undt I know she's making Kriss Kringles
for me.

Dere's Hans undt his broder—dot Chulius—
deir bank

Iss empty of pennies dot use' to go "clank!"
Dey ask me last weeks if I do n't dink it's fine
To ged a new pipe for dis old von of mine.
Undt now dey vill visper undt chuckle in
glee—

Dose ploys, dey are making Kriss Kringles
for me.

"T is a week pehindt Christmas—undt, Oh,
it is fine

To see all der dricks of dose chiltren of mine,
Undt dink how dose shippers vill feel on my
feet,

Undt how dot new pipe vill be bleasant undt
schweet.

Undt dey shall haf choost der best kint of a
tree

Because dey are making Kriss Kringles for
me."

And here is a pathetic little waif in negro
dialect—verses very true to life, as all
acquainted with the Southern colored-folk will
agree:

"Li'l black han's—dey neveh still;
All time pullin' de chaihs erroun',
Playin' drum on de window-pane—
Ain' no stoppin' fo' 'Hesh!' er frown—
Drag mah skirts 't well I cai n't walk.
Astin' mammy ter 'Tek me, do!'
Grab de broom w'en I'se gwine sweep—
Mah house-wu'kkin' is neveh th'oo.

Li'l black han's—dey brek de plates;
Slam de skillet erlong de flo';
Knock day clock fum de chimbley-piece
"Twell it has n' no tick no mo';
Pull mah vines in summah-time;
Mek dirt spots on de whitewash wall—
Always fin' in' de mischief place
Sence de day she lunt ter crawl.

Li'l black han's—dey neveh stop
Lisin' daddy's ol' pipes en things;
Droppin' bread on de pahloh flo'—
Lawd, de muss dem li'l' han's brings!
Li'l black han's—dey moughy sweet
W'en dey pattin' po' mammy's cheek
W'en I'se tiah's f'um mah day's wu'k;
Dey mo' soothin' dan ef dey speak.

Li'l' black han's—dey still ter-day!
Folded still in de bestes' room,
Holdin' lilies es peaceful lak,
Des es if dey had pick' de bloom.
Li'l' black han's! I min' yo' tricks!
Hyuh's de el'phunts dat yo' drawed.
Li'l' black han's! Come back en vex
Yo' po' mammy ergain! My Lawd!"

We close this notice with the following stanzas that, like many other poems in the work, are pregnant with suggestive lessons. They are entitled "The Loom of Time":

"Swift as a weaver's shuttle,
Truly and quickly cast,
Every day is woven
Into the silent past;
Into the wondrous fabric
Go all the love and hate—
All in a fadeless pattern,
Lasting and intricate.

Here there are strands of beauty—
Kindness has lent its gold;
There we see barren places,
Sullen and dull and cold.
All of our clouds and sunshine,
All of our joy and pain,
Leap from the flying shuttle,
Full to the waiting chain.

Thus do the days go from us,
Thus does the weaver bind
Into a blended picture
All that we leave behind;
Ready with flying shuttle,
Lever and loom and thread,
For all the coming actions—
For all the days ahead.

So may we look behind us
Through all the web of days,
Seeing our good and evil
Blent in its endless maze.
Purple and gold and crimson
Vie with the sodden black—
Whether of pride or sorrow,
We may not have it back.

Swift as a weaver's shuttle
Day hastens on to day—
Always the fabric changes,
Always the colors play;
Now with a gloomy shadow,
Now with a glow sublime—
So go the deathless records
Into the loom of Time."

The work is illustrated with several full-page drawings. It is well printed and tastefully bound and is a volume well calculated to awaken the dormant idealism and sentiment which the hurry, worry, confusion, cares and excitement of the present age and land tend to destroy.

Before the Crisis. By Frederick Blount Mott. Cloth. Pp. 309. Price, \$1.50. New York: John Lane.

THIS is a spirited story of Kansas in the dark, thrilling and grimly-tragic days when the soil of the plains drank up the blood of as high-minded a company of selfless martyrs as ever died in behalf of a subject-people or a high moral idea. The great struggle with which this story deals, or rather which is made the commanding background for an exciting romance of the Dumas-Weyman kind, was the contest that more than aught else crystallized and aroused public sentiment, North and South, and rendered the Civil war inevitable. The outrages perpetrated upon the Free-Soil settlers by a strong, arrogant and masterful people, fully aroused and implicitly convinced of the right of their cause—a right for which their ministers found ample warrant in the Bible, form one of the most gloomy and essentially tragic pages of our history. The party of slavery was countenanced and sustained by the Federal Government in much the same manner that the Mine-Owners' Association in Colorado has been recently countenanced and upheld by the reckless and dictatorial Governor and the constitution-defying Adjutant-General of that state in the struggle between the great monetary corporations and the labor-unions. On the other hand, the unjust and violent course of the pro-slavery party led to reckless acts of reprisal, as is always the case in such conflicts, and out of the struggle rose men who were as completely under the spell of the Old Testament as were Cromwell and other great men who have led a forlorn hope at critical crises and who were strengthened and buoyed up by fanatical zeal born of the conviction that they had the warrant for aggressive warfare from Deity, when combatting those who represented ideas they believed to be wicked and demoralizing.

As the years pass and the old-time prejudice dies out, our people will feel deeper and still deeper interest in that thrilling passage in history in which the tall, gaunt form of the Puritan captain, John Brown, was the domina-

ting influence in a mighty aggressive conscience-struggle that proved the prelude to the greatest civil contest of modern times.

The author of this story is evidently wholly in sympathy with John Brown and the Free-Soilers, and this strong sympathy unfortunately causes him, we think, to paint the slavery party in too dark a hue and perhaps to place some high lights on the portrait of the leader of the Free-Soil movement that are unwarranted by the reality. Still, on the whole the picture is well drawn and true in spirit and atmosphere.

Leaving the historical background, which for many will hold a special interest, we come to consider the story. This belongs to the school of the romantic novels tintured with history, but for the most part the offspring of an Oriental imagination. The movement is quick, the pages abound in highly dramatic situations, hair-breadth escapes and episodes that might make even Mr. Stanley Weyman catch his breath. The element of probability is by no means always present, any more than it is in the D'Artagnan romances, but the devotee of the romantic novel is far less exacting in this respect than the realist, so we imagine that the marvelous deliverances experienced by the hero in the nick of time and his opportune arrival at the very moment when the Southern leader, who is the villain of the story, is about to despoil the heroine, will occasion as much satisfaction as the climaxes in the thrilling passages of a conventional melodrama, when the hero performs prodigies of valor, or when at last, as is always the case—no, not in life, but in the good, old melodramas and the romantic novels—the villain meets his just deserts and the hero and heroine are united.

The story is constructed on the conventional lines that mark almost all tales and plays of the Civil war. Barbara Fairfax, a beautiful and cultured young Southern woman, who lives in Missouri and whose father, a rector, is intensely pro-slavery in his views, falls in love with Oliver Wentworth, a young man from Boston, who is journeying to join John Brown's camp in order to take part in the border-war that is being waged by those who intend that Kansas shall be free and those who are equally determined that it shall become a slave-holding commonwealth. Barbara's principal suitor is Captain Mendenhall, of Virginia, the reckless and daring but brutal and passionate leader of the pro-slavery forces. He is the principal villain, but Barbara's brother Philip is by no means a saint. The negro family,

slaves in the rector's household, is very conspicuous, and some of the finest touches in the book are found in the out-picturings of the fancies, superstitions and other mental characteristics of these dusky children of the South-land. The author has evidently known much of the old negro life. Altogether the romance, though not so well written or so excellent a story as *The Crisis*, by Mr. Churchill, is far superior to most novels that deal with the conflict between the Northern and Southern peoples, which culminated in our Civil war.

Incense of Sandalwood. By Willimina L. Armstrong. Parchment. Illustrated. Pp. 220. Price, \$2.25 net. Postage, 15 cents. Los Angeles: The Baumgardt Publishing Company.

THIS volume is unique, artistic and richly gotten up. It is printed on fine deckel-edged paper not unlike that used by artists in water-color. The illustrations are on Japan vellum. Most of them are printed in light sepia, although one is a color-plate. The frontispiece is a reproduction by photographic process of a page from the *Vedas*. The content-matter consists of Whitmanesque poems and tales of India. In both there is much fine thought and all are pregnant with suggestions and lessons that for the thoughtful will prove helpful.

It affords us much pleasure to see the marked literary activity on the Pacific coast. Within the last three weeks three works by California authors and published on the Western coast have been received, each of which is much beyond the ordinary in merit; while this volume possesses the added excellence of being thoroughly artistic in every respect.

The stories, though simply written and refreshingly unconventional, are finished in style. The tales and allegorical sketches no less than the style of their composition are quite out of the beaten path of present-day literature, and they are intended to carry lessons that shall linger in the contemplative mind and awaken fruitful trains of thought and speculation. Indeed, the chief interest, it seems to us, lies in the suggestive lessons they hold, as the subject-matter is for the most part gloomy or tragic in character and depressing in its first effect on the mind of the reader. The author has evidently scant sympathy for the ancient civilizations and the religious philosophies of the far East, and we are by no means certain that she is at all times fair or unbiased

in the implications that the tales carry. But with these exceptions—the gloomy subject-matter and a possible Occidental bias on the part of the author—the volume is excellent as well as artistic.

Dramas and Poems of Edward Bulwer Lytton. With frontispiece of Lord Lytton. Cloth. Pp. 454. Price, \$1.00. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

IT IS A pleasure to call the attention of our readers to this new edition of the dramas and poems of Lord Lytton. True, the volume contains only the three most popular of his dramas, *Richelieu*, *The Lady of Lyons* and *Money*, and there are only about a score of his poems. The little-read but to our mind very meritorious long poem, *King Arthur*, is of course not among this collection, as it alone would fill a volume of about the size of the present book. From the time we first read Bulwer's *King Arthur* we have shared his estimate of the work, regarding it as the best piece of poetical composition produced by this remarkably prolific and highly imaginative author. Not that its excellence if considered merely from the view-point of literature or rhythmic verse is so marked as to entitle it to a high place, but that it emperors so much profound philosophy, is so suggestive and thought-inspiring, and is so rich in lessons that live in the mind and that cannot fail to prove helpful to readers. We shall not be surprised if the day comes when some appreciative artist will properly illustrate the text and some sympathetic publisher will introduce it to the rising generation in such a way that its high merits will be quickly appreciated.

To return to the present volume. Here we have those ever-charming romantic dramas, *Richelieu* and *The Lady of Lyons*; not perfect by any means as acting plays or as reading dramas, as they have the faults of the melodrama of the day, when romanticism was in flower. And yet how rich in high, fine thought and beautiful human touches. Their influence is good as well as pleasing. They affect the mind much as a garden of beautiful roses affects the physical senses. True, *Richelieu* is idealized, but as that prince of romancers, the elder Dumas, had wrought such havoc with the fame of the soldier-priest and statesman, Bulwer's ideal picture, so rich in high lights and warm and pleasing touches, may serve as a balancing influence, enabling the general reader too careless to study history to

gain a more just conception of Richelieu than would have been possible had Dumas' picture remained alone in romance literature. In *Richelieu* as in *The Lady of Lyons* there are the intensely human elements present, even when romantic idealism is so much in evidence as to detract somewhat from the convincing power of the plays. The dramas do not always ring true in matters relating to the larger problems of life, especially when they deal with such world-issues as war. Yet barring these deficiencies the moral trend is upward and the influence wholesome; and in spite of the protests of the realists they will continue to charm and delight the general reader just as children will continue to love fairy-tales in spite of prosaic literalists who have sought to dispel the illusions from their mental world, because the human mind turns as naturally to the idealistic and romantic as the flower turns to the sun.

Money is a pleasing reading drama, though in our opinion it is less interesting than *The Rightful Heir*, which is not found in this volume.

The poems are selected with excellent judgment, and the volume is tastefully gotten up, with gold-stamped back and gilt top. It is a book that should be found in all libraries where there are no full sets of Bulwer's poetical works.

The Awakening of Poccalito and Other Tales.

By Eugenia Kellogg. Cloth. Pp. 130. Price, \$1.00. San Francisco: The Unknown Publisher.

TOWARD the close of 1903 Joaquin Miller, to whom the manuscript of this little volume had been submitted, wrote the talented author:

"I have read your stories which I return with hearty endorsement, not only because they are new to a world which has long been sated with golden skies, golden fields, golden sunsets, and golden gates, but because they are true. Here you have the Greek fishermen as I found them forty years ago and as they will be centuries hence. Here are the Italian egg-gatherers, as off their own coast. In fact, you have widened the world—our California world—and made the land more entirely Italy than ever before."

The volume contains five short stories and a pen-picture of a bull-fight in the City of Mexico. The stories are realistic in character, portraying for the most part the humble life with far more than photographic fidelity. Here are

tales or sketches that in the hands of a writer wanting in power of expression and in the imagination of the true artist would be dull and uninteresting; yet it is safe to say that those who read one of Miss Kellogg's stories will peruse the entire volume, even though they are mostly gloomy or pathetic.

"The Awakening of Poccalito" is a powerful picture of child-life among the very poor Italians of San Francisco, and it incidentally gives a beautiful portrayal of that divine spirit that so frequently shines forth in the lives of earth's humblest ones. Such thoughtful deeds as that of the old fruit-vender speak most eloquently of the God resident in the soul of man.

"Chief Skowl's Revenge" is one of the best sketches in the book—a story that is gloomy in the main; but here the power of love shines as the golden glory of evening's sun after a storm has passed. Through the love of a wife the old injured and hate-embittered chief yields to the nobler passion and returns good for evil in such a way as to change the fate and future of the little group. The change thus wrought well typifies the change that will come over the face of this old world when humanity becomes wise and sane enough to feel and know that love is the greatest thing in the world.

of a Curse" are strong pieces of writing. Like

"A Sleuth of Stowaways" and "The Story the others they possess the saving power of imagination which differentiates them from the tedious, wearisome mediocrity that marks most of the so-called realistic short stories of our time.

"A Heroine of Diplomacy" is a thrilling sketch of a young woman, the only passenger in a sleeping-car on the Sunset line from the Pacific, who in the still watches of the night finds herself in the power of a great animal negro porter, but who by song and clever devices holds the brute at bay during the long hours of the night.

"A Mexican Holiday" describes a bull-fight in the ancient capital of the Aztecs. It is the most vivid and impressive description of this barbarous sport we have ever perused. It is too cruelly realistic to be other than unpleasant reading; though this fact displays the author's power in cleverly bringing before the reader's mind the picture she witnessed in such a way as to awaken feelings such as one would experience in beholding the reality. And it is this power of revealing the interior soul as well as the outward seeming that differentiates the realism of power from the insipid, dull, com-

monplace realism which has flourished during recent decades. Miss Kellogg's work possesses elements of virility and strength that are as refreshing as rare among authors who essay the kind of writing she has so admirably performed in this little volume.

Susan Clegg and Her Friend Mrs. Lathrop.
By Anne Warner. Cloth. Pp. 227.
Price, \$1.00. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS volume contains five short stories. Four of the number originally appeared in *The Century Magazine* and proved highly popular. There is no denying the fact that they are clever sketches, abounding in bright sayings and very true to a certain phase of life among simple-minded people who live almost wholly on the surface of being. In present-day life, in all strata of society, we find men and women who act almost as automata and whose existence seldom suggests feelings or emotions that strike deep notes or reveal the presence of character in the true meaning of that term. They remind us of bodies without souls, of beings incapable of the deeper reaches of life. Their world is all on the surface, and life seems shallow and all but valueless. Their mirth falls on the heart of those to whom the deeper things of life appeal, as something hollow and wanting in cadence and rhythm. There is a humor which warms the soul and humanizes our nature while it delights the imagination, such, for example, as that which is found in *John Norton's Christmas*, by the late W. H. H. Murray; but there is a certain species of humor that is the antithesis of this, even though it is a true reflection of the life from which it emanates, and its influence is as jarring and discordant music. Such is the humor in this work, especially that which is present when the daughter is preparing for her father's funeral and planning to get married. The following extracts from the first story well illustrate what we mean and also the author's style. Miss Clegg has been a dutiful and faithful daughter to a father who has long been a paralytic. Her friend Mrs. Lathrop is a neighbor and confidante. Both are simple-minded people of the shallow type to which we have referred.

"Mrs. Lathrop was always interested, always sympathetic, and rarely ever startled; yet one July evening when Susan said suddenly

'I've finished my dress for father's funeral,' she did betray a slight shock.

"You ought to see it," the younger woman continued, not noticing the other's start—"it's jus' 's nice. I put it away in camphor balls, 'n' Lord knows I do n't look forward to the gettin' it out to wear, f'r the whole carriage load I'll sneeze their heads off whenever I move in that dress."

"Did you put newspaper—" Mrs. Lathrop began, mastering her earlier emotions.

"In the sleeves? Yes, I did, 'n' I bought a pair o' black gloves 'n' two handkerchiefs 'n' slipped 'em into the pockets. Everythin' is all fixed, 'n' there'll be nothin' to do when father dies but to shake it out 'n' lay it on the bed in his room. I say "in his room," 'cause o' course that day he'll be havin' the guest-room. I was thinkin' of it all this afternoon when I sat there by him hemmin' the braid on the skirt, 'n' I could n't but think 't if I sit 'n' wait very much longer I sh'll suddenly find myself pretty far advanced in years afore I know it. This world's made f'r the young 's well 's the old, 'n' you c'n believe me or not jus' 's you please, Mrs. Lathrop, but I've always meant to get married 's soon 's father was off my hands. I was countin' up to-day, though, 'n' if he lives to be a hundred, I'll be nigh onto seventy 'n' no man ain't goin' to marry me at seventy. Not 'nless he was eighty, 'n' Lord knows I ain't intendin' to bury father jus' to begin on some one else, 'n' that's all it 'd be."

"Mrs. Lathrop chewed her clover.

"I set there thinkin' f'r a good hour, 'n' when I was puttin' away that dress, I kep' on thinkin', 'n' the end was 't now that dress 's done I ain't got nothin' in especial to sew on 'n' so I may jus' 's well begin on my weddin' things. There's no time like the present, 'n' if I married this summer he'd have to pay f'r half of next winter's coal. 'N' so my mind's made up, 'n' you c'n talk yourself blind, 'f you feel so inclined, Mrs. Lathrop, but you can't change hide or hair o' my way o' thinkin'. I've made up my mind to get married, 'n' I'm goin' to set right about it. Where there's a will there's a way, 'n' I ain't goin' to leave a stone unturned."

Doubtless to many these stories, abounding in the kind of humor to which we have alluded and not wanting in amusing situations presented in a crisp and clever manner, will prove delightful; but we doubt if our readers will take special pleasure in them.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THREE important series of papers which will make THE ARENA for 1905 notable among reviews of opinion open in this issue: (1) *Constructive Measures to Restore and Preserve a Government of the People, for the People and by the People, as Demanded by Democracy*; (2) *On the Firing-Line of Progress in Other Lands*; (3) *Crying Evils of Our Day and How to Remedy Them*.

The opening paper in the first of these series has been prepared for THE ARENA by the distinguished and scholarly writer, Chief-Judge WALTER CLARK, LL.D., of the Supreme Bench of North Carolina, and deals with one of the most important and imperative issues of the hour. A true programme of progress demands (a) that we return to the fundamental or bed-rock principles of democracy or popular government and that at all times our reform-measures shall square with these principles, and (b) that, keeping this vital fact in mind, we move forward, meeting changed conditions with effective remedies requisite for the securing or maintenance of equality of opportunities and of rights and the destruction of those evils that are inimical to popular government and which corrupt the lawmakers and the electorate, making for class-government while placing the masses at the mercy of the few. Judge CLARK's paper opens this series of constitutional and fundamental discussions in our Programme of Progress. The author of this paper is eminently well-fitted for his task. He has long been regarded as one of the most unswervingly just jurists in the South. He was elected for two consecutive terms of seven years each to the honored position of Associate Justice on the Supreme Bench of his State. While there he proved himself at all times superior to the subtle influences of corporate wealth, and by his just decisions aroused the enmity of such giant corporations as the railways and the tobacco-trust. These united to defeat his nomination to the office of Chief-Judge of North Carolina. Failing in that attempt, an opposition ticket was placed in the field and an immense sum contributed to defeat the Judge. The heart of the people of North Carolina, however, was sound, and Justice CLARK received an enormous majority of over sixty thousand votes in the commonwealth. He is the author of *Annotated Code of*

Civil Procedure, *Laws for Business Men*, *Overruled Cases*, and other legal works, and is the American translator from the original French of Constant's *Memoirs of Napoleon*. Several years ago Justice CLARK was sent to Mexico as Special Commissioner for THE ARENA, preparing, as many of our readers will remember, a series of the most thoughtful and valuable papers on our sister republic.

"The Election of Federal Judges by the People" will be followed by equally able papers on Direct Legislation, municipal progress and kindred discussions. The first of these papers will be from the pen of the Hon. CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, Secretary of the National Municipal League.

In "Glasgow's Great Record" THE ARENA is able to give the American public the most complete and authoritative brief history of this remarkable experiment in municipal ownership yet published, and the facts are brought down to the present time. Professor PARSONS when in Europe made a careful personal investigation and an exhaustive study of the experiment in municipal ownership and operation of the tram-service as being tried in Glasgow, but desiring to give our readers the fullest and most authoritative history of this pioneer experiment, brought down to the present time, and one that should cover every point that might be raised, we requested Professor PARSONS to prepare thirty questions which were forwarded to the superintendent of the municipal tram-service, who had kindly promised to secure for us authoritative answers to any inquiries we wished to make. More than sixteen large pages of typewritten replies were the result of these queries. These we placed in Professors PARSONS' hands to be digested and incorporated into a brief and complete story of Glasgow's experiment. This paper will be followed by a contribution from the pen of Mr. CHARLES BELLAMY, the superintendent of the municipal street-car service of Liverpool, England, and other similar papers will appear, from time to time from the highest official sources dealing with the problem of popular ownership of public utilities as successfully carried on in foreign lands. The second paper in this general series, *On the Firing-Line of Progress in Foreign Lands*, will be a feature of the December ARENA. It has been prepared

expressly for us by Hon. EDWARD TREGEAR, Secretary of Labor for the Commonwealth of New Zealand, and is entitled "How New Zealand is Solving the Problem of Popular Government."

In "Our Legal Machinery and Its Victims" we open a series of papers on *Crying Evils of the Hour and the Remedies*. This is a strong and important discussion, disquieting, it is true, yet pregnant with sane and rational suggestions, and while boldly pointing out evil conditions, it is also a thoughtful contribution to the constructive literature of the hour. This paper will be followed by a contribution dealing in a specific way with abuses in public institutions in Massachusetts. Another very important paper in this series which will appear in an early number will be from the pen of LEE MERRYWEATHER, a prominent member of the St. Louis bar and a well-known author, and will give a series of startling facts relating to the corrupt practices in St. Louis under the reign of Boss Butler. Another important discussion in this series which will be a feature of an early issue will deal with child-labor in the United States.

The Drama and Social Progress: Our series of papers dealing with the drama as a factor in literary and social advance and the stage as a popular educator, opens in this number with a contribution by the well-known dramatic and literary critic, ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Ph.D., on "Arnold Daly and Bernard Shaw: A Bit of Dramatic History." Our readers will be pleased to know that during the ensuing year Mr. HENDERSON will appear in six papers dealing with the work and message of the great present-day dramatists, including IBSEN, SUDERMANN, PHILLIPS, D'ANNUNZIO, etc. The first of these papers will be on "Henrik Ibsen and Social Progress" and will appear in the January number. The author is a well-known contributor to the *Dial*, the *Reader* and other prominent literary publications. He is an instructor in the University of North Carolina.

The Philippine Insurrection: Why? In this paper the founder of the Moro System of Industrial Training describes in a highly interesting manner the Filipinos as seen from the view-point of an imperialist. The question is admirably presented and the paper cannot fail to prove of special interest. Yet to us it is far from convincing. The author starts from the vantage-ground of those who are out of agree-

ment with the basic theory promulgated by the Declaration of Independence, his position being essentially that of the English Tories who predicted ruin and destruction for our republic when it was founded, because it was held that we would be incapable of self-government. We believe that the Filipinos will be able to work out their own problem of self-government incomparably better if left with their freedom than if held as a subject-people by a race that has ever entertained a thinly-disguised contempt for all peoples other than the whites. When the republican leaders of Mexico triumphed, that nation was in very bad repute. Ignorance, superstition, a predilection for revolutions, and the presence on every hand of lawless bands of thieves and bandits precluded the idea that it could under the wise statesmanship of one man be made one of the most peaceful, prosperous and contented governments in the world. And yet such has been the case. We believe in the principles of democracy; we believe in the fundamental ideals proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence. And the sophistries, infamous as many of them are, of the reactionaries are the arguments by which kingcraft, priestcraft, aristocracies and autocracies have held the people in subjection while perpetrating great oppressions, wrongs and injustice.

One of the World's Great Poems: More and more as the years pass by the thoughtful public is coming to appreciate the essential greatness of EMERSON's contribution to the literature of the nineteenth century. But we are only beginning to realize what a veritable gold-mine of philosophical and ethical truths is empeared in his great poems. In this issue Mr. CHARLES MALLOY, the President of the Boston Emerson Society, discusses in a masterly manner the great poem, "Bacchus." This is one of the four great poems of the Concord philosopher. "The Sphinx," "The Problem," "Bacchus" and "Hermione" are destined, we believed, to rank among the essentially great poems of our literature. Next month Mr. MALLOY will discuss "Hermione."

Professor Maxey on the Diplomatic Side of the Russo-Japanese War: The popular series of papers on "Crises in Japanese History" being prepared for THE ARENA by our special diplomatic contributor, Professor EDWIN MAXEY, this month deals with the diplomatic history of the Russo-Japanese war. This paper will be concluded next month by a re-

view of the military history of this great conflict during its opening campaign.

How the Stage Can Help the Church: In September THE ARENA published a paper prepared by the Rev. GEORGE W. SHINN, D.D., one of the leading spirits in the Actor's Church Alliance. This discussion was widely copied and generally noticed. In this issue GERTRUDE ANDREWS, well-known among the playwrights and actresses in the Empire City, and a lady of culture and ability, contributes a highly thoughtful paper from the view-point of the actress,—a paper which is pregnant with important truths for our clergy.

Saint-Simon: In his sketch of the life of Saint-Simon the talented author and journalist, HERBERT N. CASSON, has given our readers a vivid and instructive pen-picture of one of the noblest-minded and clearest-visioned prophets of progress of the great revolutionary epoch which rang in the age of man. It is well that we should all know and revere those great altruistic apostles of civilization of whom SAINT-SIMON was one of the highest types. His thought and his spirit of self-forgetfulness are needed to-day no less than in the earlier time when men freely dared and sacrificed life and all earth held dear for ideals of fraternity, justice and human rights that are even yet but partially realized. SAINT-SIMON was a nineteenth-century prophet of the twentieth-century's highest ideals. Mr. CASSON, with a passion for justice and human brotherhood, with clear vision, superb courage, rectitude of purpose and that lofty altruism that marks the chosen few way-showers of progress, has entered into the life and spirit of the great Frenchman to such a degree as to make us feel and know the elder savant as though he were one with whom we had touched hands.

The Coffee-Club Movement on the Pacific Coast: Our readers will be interested in the sketch of the growth of the coffee-clubs on the Pacific coast. This movement will appeal especially to the more thoughtful of our people, because it is a rational means that is being put forward for supplying the poor with the comforts of a club-room and with good food at the lowest possible price, and which is free from the objections of conventional charity work. True, it is only a palliative measure, but it affords a needed palliation pending the establishment of a juster day when all men who desire work shall have ample opportunity to toil and to enjoy the fruit of their labors.

Our Fiction: In this issue will be found a brief but charming and suggestive little allegorical sketch entitled "The Choice," by FELICIA BLAKE; while our principal fiction is MR. DAN. BEARD's quaint and fantastic story entitled "The Ban-Dogge." This sketch was written by MR. BEARD as a protest against the deluge of commonplace stories dealing with infinitesimal details of daily life by writers who pose as realists but who are devoid of imagination. MR. BEARD in the first part of this sketch pictures with the fidelity of a true realist a winter gathering in a present-day lodging-house in the lower part of New York, and then by a wave of the magician's wand the reader is transported into the age of romance, of swashbucklers and pirates—the days when feudal lords on the land and daring buccaneers on the sea preyed upon the weaker members of society in a far more strenuous and picturesque yet far less effective manner, than the trust-magnates, privileged interests and Wall-street masters of "high-finance" prey upon the masses in America to-day.

Our New Serial Story: It is with great pleasure that we are able to announce that in our next issue we will publish the opening chapters of *The Building of the City Beautiful*, by JOAQUIN MILLER. This story has a triple charm. It is an absorbingly interesting romance, holding the imagination of the cultured reader enthralled from the opening chapters to the closing sentences. It is a prose-poem of rare beauty and excellence, pitched on a lofty moral key, mystic yet rational, highly imaginative yet sweetly reasonable; while at the same time it is in our judgment the most rational of all the "social visions" from PLATO to our time,—the story of the happiness of a whole people through the reign of justice under equality of opportunities and of rights.

This romance, which was written some years ago, was the fruit of the poet's deepest thought. Five hundred copies were printed, when the publishing firm was dissolved, and after certain delays, difficulties and confusion incident to the dissolution, it was found that the plates had been destroyed. The poet bided his time and recently carefully revised and amplified the story so that now it represents the crowning effort of his mature years in prose composition, and is, we believe, destined not only to hold a permanent place in our literature as a classic of its kind, but to be recognized as the noblest and most practical and fundamentally just of all the "social visions."

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